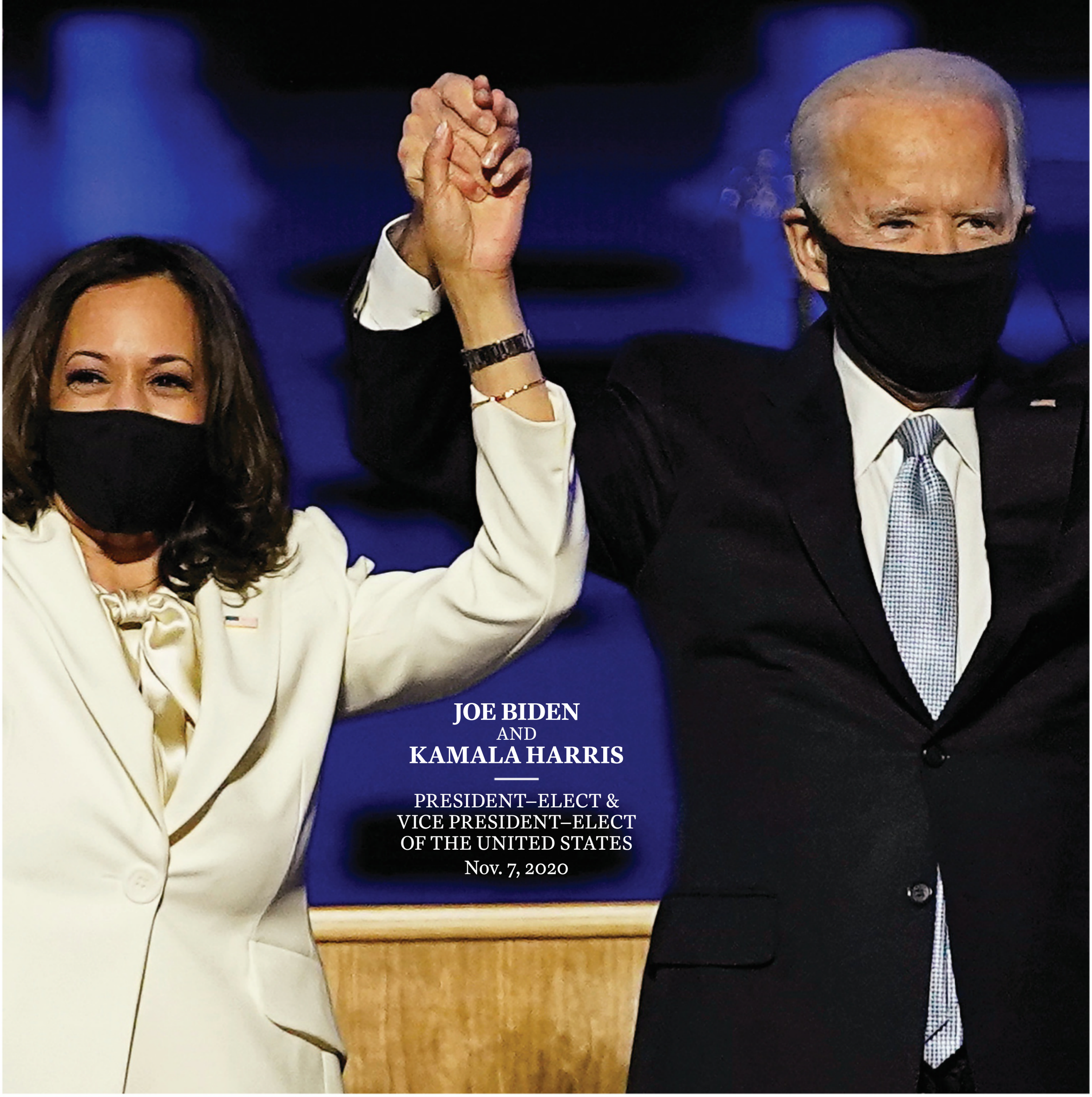
NOVEMBER 23, 2020

‘A TIME TO HEAL’

TIME



JOE BIDEN
AND
KAMALA HARRIS

PRESIDENT–ELECT &
VICE PRESIDENT–ELECT
OF THE UNITED STATES
Nov. 7, 2020

time.com

For certain adults with **newly diagnosed metastatic non-small cell lung cancer (NSCLC)** that **tests positive for PD-L1**

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In a study of newly diagnosed advanced NSCLC patients, half of those on OPDIVO + YERVOY were alive at 17.1 months versus 14.9 months on platinum-based chemotherapy.

Results may vary.

Indication & Important Safety Information for OPDIVO (nivolumab) + YERVOY (ipilimumab)

Only your healthcare professional knows the specifics of your condition and how OPDIVO in combination with YERVOY may fit into your overall therapy. The information below does not take the place of talking with your healthcare professional, so talk to them if you have any questions.

What are OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY are prescription medicines used to treat people with a type of advanced stage lung cancer called non-small cell lung cancer (NSCLC). OPDIVO may be used in combination with YERVOY as your first treatment for NSCLC when your lung cancer has spread to other parts of your body (metastatic), **and** your tumors are positive for PD-L1, but do not have an abnormal EGFR or ALK gene.

It is not known if OPDIVO and YERVOY are safe and effective when used in children younger than 18 years of age.

What is the most important information I should know about OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY are medicines that may treat certain cancers by working with your immune system. OPDIVO and YERVOY can cause your immune system to attack normal organs and tissues in any area of your body and can affect the way they work. These problems can sometimes become serious or life-threatening and can lead to death and may happen anytime during treatment or even after your treatment has ended. Some of these problems may happen more often when OPDIVO is used in combination with YERVOY.

YERVOY can cause serious side effects in many parts of your body which can lead to death. These problems may happen anytime during treatment with YERVOY or after you have completed treatment.

Call or see your healthcare provider right away if you develop any symptoms of the following problems or these symptoms get worse. Do not try to treat symptoms yourself.

- **Lung problems (pneumonitis).** Symptoms of pneumonitis may include: new or worsening cough; chest pain; shortness of breath
- **Intestinal problems (diarrhea or colitis) that can lead to tears or holes (perforation) in your intestine.** Signs and symptoms of colitis may include: diarrhea (loose stools) or more bowel movements than usual; mucus or blood in your stools or dark, tarry, sticky stools; stomach-area (abdomen) pain or tenderness; you may or may not have fever
- **Liver problems (hepatitis) that can lead to liver failure.** Signs and symptoms of hepatitis may include: yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes; nausea or vomiting; pain on the right side of your stomach area (abdomen); drowsiness; dark urine (tea colored); bleeding or bruising more easily than normal; feeling less hungry than usual; decreased energy
- **Hormone gland problems (especially the thyroid, pituitary, and adrenal glands; and pancreas).** Signs and symptoms that your hormone glands are not working properly may include: headaches that will not go away or unusual headaches; extreme tiredness; weight gain or weight loss; dizziness or fainting; changes in mood or behavior, such as decreased sex drive, irritability, or forgetfulness; hair loss; feeling cold; constipation; voice gets deeper; feeling more hungry or thirsty than usual; urinating more often than usual
- **Kidney problems, including nephritis and kidney failure.** Signs of kidney problems may include: decrease in the amount of urine; blood in your urine; swelling in your ankles; loss of appetite
- **Skin problems.** Signs of these problems may include: skin rash with or without itching; itching; skin blistering or peeling; sores or ulcers in mouth or other mucous membranes
- **Inflammation of the brain (encephalitis).** Signs and symptoms of encephalitis may include: headache; fever; tiredness or weakness; confusion; memory problems; sleepiness; seeing or hearing things that are not really there (hallucinations); seizures; stiff neck
- **Eye problems.** Symptoms may include: blurry vision, double vision, or other vision problems; eye pain or redness
- **Heart problems.** Signs and symptoms of heart problems may include: shortness of breath; irregular heartbeat; feeling tired; chest pain
- **Muscle and joint problems.** Signs and symptoms of muscle and joint problems may include: severe or persistent muscle or joint pains; severe muscle weakness

Additional serious side effects observed with YERVOY include:

- **Nerve problems that can lead to paralysis.** Symptoms of nerve problems may include: unusual weakness of legs, arms, or face; numbness or tingling in hands or feet



Talk to your doctor about OPDIVO + YERVOY

www.OPDIVOYERVOY.com 1-855-OPDIVOYERVOY

Get medical help immediately if you develop any of these symptoms or they get worse. It may keep these problems from becoming more serious. Your healthcare team will check you for side effects during treatment and may treat you with corticosteroid or hormone replacement medicines. If you have a serious side effect, your healthcare team may also need to delay or completely stop your treatment with OPDIVO and YERVOY.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before receiving OPDIVO and YERVOY? Before you receive OPDIVO and YERVOY, tell your healthcare provider if you: have immune system problems (autoimmune disease) such as Crohn's disease, ulcerative colitis, lupus, or sarcoidosis; have had an organ transplant; have lung or breathing problems; have liver problems; have any other medical conditions; are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. OPDIVO and YERVOY can harm your unborn baby. **Females who are able to become pregnant:** Your healthcare provider should do a pregnancy test before you start receiving OPDIVO and YERVOY.

- You should use an effective method of birth control during and for at least 5 months after the last dose. Talk to your healthcare provider about birth control methods that you can use during this time.
- Tell your healthcare provider right away if you become pregnant or think you are pregnant during treatment. You or your healthcare provider should contact Bristol Myers Squibb at 1-844-593-7869 as soon as you become aware of the pregnancy.
- **Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study:** Females who become pregnant during treatment with YERVOY are encouraged to enroll in a Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study. The purpose of this study is to collect information about the health of you and your baby. You or your healthcare provider can enroll in the Pregnancy Safety Surveillance Study by calling 1-844-593-7869.

If you are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed: It is not known if OPDIVO or YERVOY passes into your breast milk. **Do not** breastfeed during treatment and for 5 months after the last dose.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your healthcare providers and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

What are the possible side effects of OPDIVO and YERVOY?

OPDIVO and YERVOY can cause serious side effects, including:

- **See "What is the most important information I should know about OPDIVO and YERVOY?"**
- **Severe infusion-related reactions.** Tell your doctor or nurse right away if you get these symptoms during an infusion of OPDIVO or YERVOY: chills or shaking; itching or rash; flushing; difficulty breathing; dizziness; fever; feeling like passing out
- **Complications of stem cell transplant that uses donor cells (allogeneic). These complications, such as graft-versus-host disease, may be severe and can lead to death if you receive OPDIVO or YERVOY either before or after transplant. Your healthcare provider will monitor you for the following signs and symptoms: skin rash; liver inflammation; stomach-area (abdominal) pain; diarrhea**

The most common side effects of OPDIVO when used in combination with YERVOY include: feeling tired; diarrhea; rash; itching; nausea; pain in muscles, bones, and joints; fever; cough; decreased appetite; vomiting; stomach-area (abdominal) pain; shortness of breath; upper respiratory tract infection; headache; low thyroid hormone levels (hypothyroidism); decreased weight; dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of OPDIVO and YERVOY. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

OPDIVO (10 mg/mL) and YERVOY (5 mg/mL) are injections for intravenous (IV) use.

This is a brief summary of the most important information about OPDIVO and YERVOY. For more information, talk with your healthcare providers, call 1-855-673-4861, or go to www.OPDIVO.com.

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ELECTION 2020

TIME

VOL. 196, NO. 19 | 2020

WAY OUT
Taking office when the incumbent won't concede
By Molly Ball 12

CHARACTER AS DESTINY
How Joe Biden won
By Charlotte Alter 22

THE LIMITS OF THE BASE
How Donald Trump lost
By Brian Bennett and Tessa Berenson 32

QUESTION FOR THE PROSECUTION
Should a former President face charges?
By Simon Shuster and Vera Bergengruen 34

BIDEN'S AGENDA
The President-elect confronts a pandemic, health care, the economy and the climate 42

THE JOE I KNOW
To unify America, my friend should take a page from FDR
By Jon Meacham 50

PLUS:
Viewpoints from Brittney Cooper, Anna Purna Kambhampaty and Cady Lang, Eddie S. Glaude Jr. and Stephanie Land 36

TIME OFF
In *Mank*, the other mind behind *Citizen Kane;* woke capitalists in *Industry;* Ariana Grande's new album; and 9 Questions for election-map guru Steve Kornacki 57

A Biden-Harris victory celebration in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 7

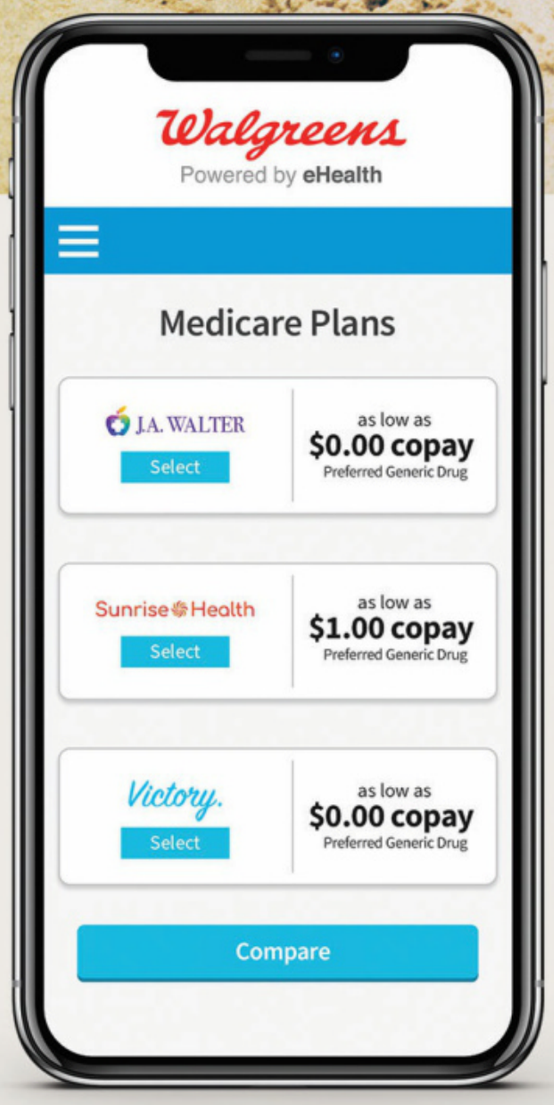
Photograph by Lorenzo Meloni—Magnum Photos for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Andrew Harnik—Pool/AP

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KID *of the* YEAR

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Our dueling American realities remain. Biden and Harris, and all of us, have much work ahead

COVERING 2020

EARLY LAST YEAR, I WENT TO A SMALL DINNER in New York for one of my predecessors in this job, former TIME editor turned best-selling biographer, professor and PBS host Walter Isaacson. We wound up talking about—what else?—the upcoming election. TIME had a particularly important role to play this season, Walter suggested, with the stakes so high and a record number of contenders in the mix. Why not do in-depth profiles, interviewing the major candidates so that we get to know not just their positions and platforms but who they are as human beings?

And so we did.

TIME contributor Anand Giridharadas traveled some 6,000 miles with Bernie Sanders in search of the candidate's inner self. TIME's Charlotte Alter toured the South Bend, Ind., "white house" that Pete Buttigieg shares with husband Chasten and dogs Buddy and Truman. Haley Sweetland Edwards talked white papers and policy wonkery with Elizabeth Warren. Lissandra Villa sat with Beto O'Rourke, Andrew Yang and Julián Castro. Abby Vesoulis took us into Amy Klobuchar's Capitol Hill apartment, down to the books on her bookshelf.



Correspondent Molly Ball had the winning hand, with profiles of both Joe Biden and Kamala Harris that captured the candidates searching for their places in a crowded party. (They found them.) Brian Bennett, who covers the White House for TIME, took us deep into the machinery of Donald Trump's campaign. Asked if he, like every other modern President running for re-election, would reach beyond his political base, Trump said, "It might happen. But I think my base is so strong, I'm not sure that I have to do that." (He didn't.)

From there, our team of reporters and producers tracked a campaign of global importance as it met a pandemic of global impact, the two coalescing in a cover this summer about "The Plague Election." They talked to voters, hundreds of them, and they reported on the flood of misinformation, spread this cycle not so much by foreign actors as by domestic ones.

"It's a privilege to cover history from a platform like ours, but it's also difficult and daunting, even before you throw in a raging pandemic and the President of the United States building his campaign around an attempt to discredit your work," says Alex Altman, TIME's deputy Washington bureau chief, who led our coverage alongside bureau chief Massimo Calabresi and senior editors Edwards and Krista Mahr.

OUR COVER THIS WEEK, an image from the event where Biden and Harris delivered victory speeches on Nov. 7, includes the phrase from Biden's remarks, and from Ecclesiastes, A TIME TO HEAL. It's reminiscent of a long-ago TIME cover following another season of division and pain, on the 1974 issue featuring newly inaugurated President Gerald Ford with the line THE HEALING BEGINS. (For some reason, as a 7-year-old, I stashed our family's copy away and still have it after all these years.)

Healing is a long-running theme of Biden's, one that Ball presaged in her original profile of him. "Joe's a healer," Biden's wife Jill told her. "He feels people's problems because he's been through a lot of it himself." Harris, too, echoed this in her victory speech, committing the new Administration to "heal the soul of our nation."

This healing will not come easy. Biden's win, projected by organizations from the Associated Press to Fox News, is statistically clear and in line with how every presidential election has been called for more than a century. State election officials have reported no irregularities that could affect the outcome, nor has the President cited any. Yet he is making an unprecedented effort to use the levers of government to resist. And of course there is the ongoing crisis reflected in the masks on the faces of the President-elect and Vice President–elect on our cover, a crisis that continues to disproportionately affect the health and livelihoods of the most marginalized in our society.

Our dueling American realities remain. Biden and Harris, and all of us, have much work ahead.



Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

AMERICAN REALITY Readers from across the political spectrum found some common ground in the Nov. 16 issue, agreeing that the 2020 election represents a call—perhaps even a mandate—for societal change.

"People are tired of career politicians, Democratic or Republican, which Trump promised to shake up," argued Roger Grubic of Ormond Beach, Fla. "When do they age out and we get leaders who want to truly represent America?" A Biden-Harris victory "is so much bigger than just politics," wrote Bianca Jituboh, a Gen Z voter living in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. "We have clearly stated what we want for our future. The beginning of a new chapter. One that is hopeful and diverse." Kimberly Rodman in Eugene, Ore., meanwhile, called the race in verse: "Humpty trumpty sat on HIS wall/ Humpty trumpty had a GREAT fall/ All of his lawyers and all of his kin/ Couldn't put trumpty together again."

> ***'The rift that needs to be healed is the rural-urban divide.'***
>
> **MADHUKAR VABLE**, Houghton, Mich.

> ***'We've had over four years of division & we're sick of it.'***
>
> **PATRICK STANLEY**, Sechelt, British Columbia

Election Day also got readers looking ahead to TIME's Person of the Year selection for 2020. Given the "deep divisions" apparent across the U.S., the Rev. Carol Barrett of Ellettsville, Ind., said, she hopes the choice will be "non-partisan." Johanne Caruso of Malden, Mass., suggested that poll workers receive the title for "putting their lives in danger to ensure our right to cast our votes." These "silent heroes," Caruso wrote, "uphold the integrity of our election process."



A GLOBAL MOVEMENT The death of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May catalyzed a reckoning over racial inequality in the U.S.—and galvanized protesters fighting for justice worldwide. On TIME.com, read about how the recent wave of Black Lives Matter protests has heightened awareness of the long history of police brutality against Indigenous Australians and about activists' efforts to pursue meaningful criminal-justice reform. Learn more at **time.com/blm-australia**

COVERING HISTORY This week's cover, featuring President-elect Joe Biden and Vice President–elect Kamala Harris, photographed on Nov. 7, the night of their historic victory speeches in Wilmington, Del., is now available in TIME's cover store. Purchase a commemorative print at **timecoverstore.com,** and for extra copies of the issue call **800-843-8463.**



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AUSTRALIA: SAEED KHAN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

‘He wasn’t just a broadcaster. He was part of the family.’

KEN JENNINGS,
Jeopardy! contestant, paying tribute to the quiz show’s long-running host Alex Trebek, who died on Nov. 8

‘I KNEW THAT I WAS MORE READY THAN I EVER HAD BEEN IN MY ENTIRE LIFE.’

EMILY HARRINGTON,
in an interview with the New York *Times*, after becoming the first woman to free-climb the Golden Gate route of Yosemite’s El Capitan in under 24 hours, on Nov. 4

‘The President can sue a ham sandwich, he can send a thousand lawyers to Pennsylvania, but it’s not going to change the basic fact of the matter.’

JOHN FETTERMAN,
Pennsylvania’s lieutenant governor, responding to a legal challenge from the Trump campaign aiming to stop the state from counting late-arriving mail ballots postmarked before Election Day, in a Nov. 6 interview



2

Number of German shepherds who will live at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. when President-elect Joe Biden takes office on Jan. 20; they are Champ and Major, who’s set to be the first White House shelter dog



GOOD NEWS
of the week

Pfizer, the American pharmaceutical giant, announced on Nov. 9 that its COVID-19 vaccine was more than 90% effective, according to preliminary findings; the company says it could have 50 million doses ready by the end of 2020

‘I think, frankly, they wanted the courts to do that, but that is not our job.’

JOHN ROBERTS,
Chief Justice, addressing congressional attempts to dismantle the Affordable Care Act, during a Nov. 10 hearing



138 million

Estimated number of hours of sleep lost across the U.S. on election night, according to data from health and wellness tracker Oura Ring

‘IT’S NOT A VICTORY, BUT THERE’S NO DEFEAT.’

NIKOL PASHINYAN,
Armenia’s Prime Minister, on signing a Nov. 9 Russian-brokered peace agreement with Azerbaijan, which calls for Armenian troops to leave the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region; Russian peacekeepers will take their place

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: THE NEW YORK TIMES; NBC NEWS; AP; THE WASHINGTON POST



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NOT GOING GENTLY

As Donald Trump refuses to concede, Joe Biden prepares to take power

BY MOLLY BALL



President-elect Biden, Vice President–elect Harris and their families celebrate victory on Nov. 7 in Wilmington, Del.

PHOTOGRAPH BY TASOS KATOPODIS—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES, FEW AMERICANS would know Emily Murphy's name. The head of the General Services Administration (GSA) is the ultimate Washington bureaucrat, responsible for signing the leases and procuring the supplies that keep the Executive Branch running. "I am not here to garner headlines or make a name for myself," she testified in 2017. "My goal is to do my part in making the federal government more efficient, effective and responsive to the American people." The Senate unanimously confirmed her to her post, which she has held ever since.

But in the days after Joe Biden was determined to have won the presidential election, Murphy found herself at the center of the most tumultuous transfer of power in decades. Media outlets from the Associated Press to Fox News called Biden the winner on Nov. 7, assessing that despite the usual isolated irregularities and a smattering of lawsuits, it was mathematically impossible for Donald Trump to overcome his vote deficit in enough states to change the Electoral College result. But Trump has refused to concede, and has conjured fantasies of widespread fraud for which he has provided no proof. Taking their cues, nearly all Republican officials have refused to recognize Biden's victory until Trump's challenges are exhausted. And Murphy has so far declined to issue the letter, known as an "ascertainment," that would formally allow the presidential transition to begin.

Until Murphy flips that switch, the transfer of power is in limbo. Under federal law, once the GSA's ascertainment is issued, the incoming Administration receives millions of dollars in funds, suites of federal offices and temporary security clearances to handle classified information. Trump had access to all these things starting Nov. 9, 2016, the day after his election by far narrower margins in key states.

The orderly transfer of power has been a bedrock of American democracy from its founding in the 18th century, and the consequences of Trump's standoff are far-reaching. His move to stall the handover poses a national-security risk: the 9/11 Commission Report found that the delayed transition in 2000 due to the Florida recount may have hampered the nation's preparedness for a terrorist attack. The holdup impedes the President-elect's ability to manage the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and undermines the new Administration's legitimacy among the 71 million Americans who voted to keep Trump in office. And it has sparked fears that Republicans are not merely humoring Trump until the election is certified, but gearing up to try to overturn the people's will.

As Trump barricades himself in his presidential palace like a cut-rate caudillo, experts in both parties regard his petulant performance as the last throes of a tantrum, not a slow-motion coup. None of his actions to date violate the laws that control certification of election victory and the transfer of executive authority. But the drama at GSA is just a taste of what Trump can do on his way out. He fired the Defense Secretary via tweet on Nov. 9, the beginning of what could be a broader purge of officials perceived as insufficiently loyal. Over the final weeks of his presidency, he could issue Executive Orders and pardons, impose tariffs, make or unwind international agreements and destroy potentially embarrassing records. "Trump retains the powers of the presidency until noon on Jan. 20," says Rosa Brooks, a Georgetown Law professor who convened a series of transition simulations earlier this year, "and the only meaningful limit on his ability to use those powers, frankly, is the degree to which members of his inner circle put pressure on him to cut it out—or not."

While Trump's allies stage stunt-filled press conferences, Biden's team has sought to proceed as normally as possible. The President-elect is making policy speeches, staffing task forces, standing up a transition website and holding planning meetings via Zoom. Biden will take office in the midst of a historic array of challenges, and the decisions being made now could well determine the course of his presidency. The pandemic has entered its worst phase yet, the economic aid that has propped up American households and businesses is running dry, and the federal government will shut down if Congress doesn't act by Dec. 11.

It's a daunting to-do list. But first Biden—and America—must weather 10 more weeks of Trump-inflicted chaos. "I'm afraid it could be a long couple of months," says Larry Hogan, the Republican governor of Maryland, one of a handful of senior Republicans to publicly disavow Trump's unfounded election claims. Such rhetoric, Hogan says, "makes people question the integrity of the system, which is such a fundamental thing to our democratic process here in America. It's embarrassing around the world. And it has people in America starting to believe in conspiracy theories that are not based in reality."

A PRESIDENT WHO WON'T CONCEDE, a party that can't yet bring itself to abandon him, millions of voters caught in a collective delusion—it's hard to gauge whether America is sliding toward a constitutional crisis or is suspended in farce. Even Trump's backers aren't sure what to make of it all: some sense he hasn't come to terms with reality; others believe he's posturing to save face. Trump is still in a fighting mood, says a person who speaks to him frequently,

Trump supporters gather outside the Maricopa County Republican Party office in Phoenix on Nov. 5

PHOTOGRAPH BY SINNA NASSERI FOR TIME







2020
NOVEMBER

DECEMBER

5 10 15 20 25 30 1 5 10 15

THE PATH FROM ELECTION TO THE OVAL OFFICE

By the time states finish counting their ballots and certify the results, Joe Biden is projected to have banked more than the 270 Electoral College votes he needs to win the White House. Meanwhile, the Trump campaign's recent flurry of lawsuits have been mostly dismissed or withdrawn. But Donald Trump's refusal thus far to concede has highlighted the opaque process by which the winners of a presidential election are made official under U.S. law. Here's your guide to the weeks that lie ahead.

BY ALANA ABRAMSON, MADELEINE CARLISLE AND SANYA MANSOOR

NOV. 3

The electors get ready to vote

Federal law determines how many Electoral College electors each state gets. By Election Day, political parties select teams—or slates—of electors to vote for their candidates; they'll convene after the state's ballots are counted and certified. This is largely ceremonial: in most states, electors vote for whoever won the state's popular vote. In Nebraska and Maine, electors can split their votes, reflecting voters' preferences in congressional districts.

DEC. 8

States finalize their electors

State election officials are expected to finish counting (and recounting) ballots, resolve any outstanding legal issues and finalize their slates of electors by this "safe harbor" deadline.

Potential obstacles Skipping this deadline increases the risk that state officials end up sending two competing slates to the Electoral College, forcing Congress to determine which is legitimate. Legal experts say that's unlikely to happen.

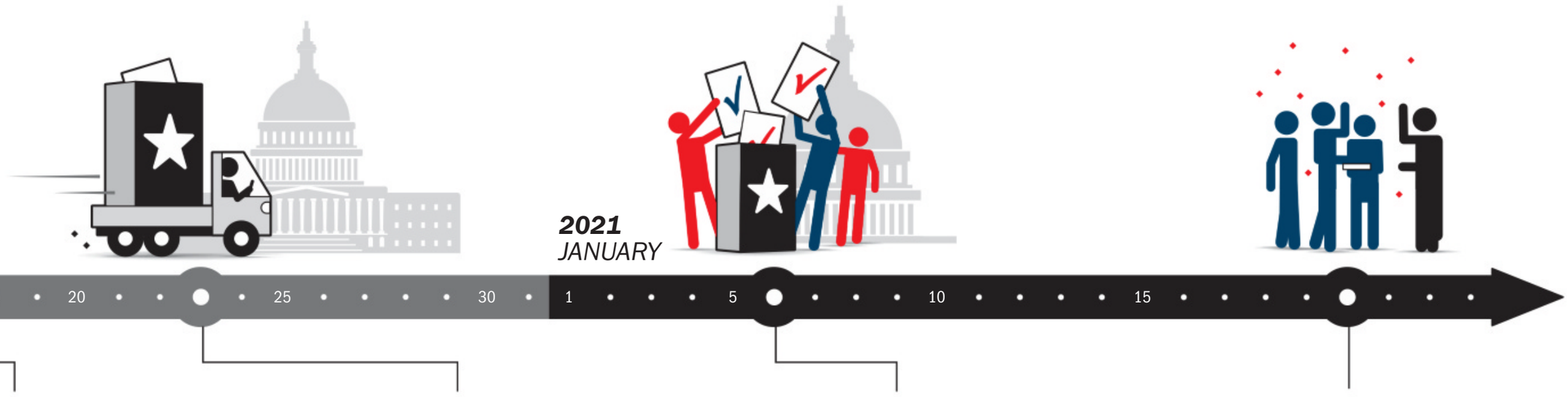
but his actions are also about positioning himself for what comes next, whether that's launching a political action committee to play Republican kingmaker, preparing for a 2024 campaign or launching a media empire. "He can literally do anything he wants," says former campaign manager Brad Parscale. "He's loved by millions of people."

Just four Republican Senators have congratulated Biden on his election. The rest have largely argued that the matter remains technically unsettled, and if the President believes the outcome is still uncertain, the court cases and state recounts should be allowed to play out. "I think we ought to quit all the hand-wringing and not act like this is extraordinary," Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell said in his usual dispassionate tone, addressing reporters at a Capitol news conference on Nov. 10—a week after Election Day and three days after the race had been called. "We're going to get through this period, and we'll swear in the winner on Jan. 20, 2021, just like we have every four years since 1793."

People close to McConnell, who has mastered the delicate art of managing Trump as well as any Republican in Washington, suspect he is trying to give the President and his supporters time to come to grips without feeling bullied. "No one thinks [Trump] has a strong legal case. That's why they're happy for him to present it," a Republican operative tells TIME. "They know the inevitable. There is just not much incentive for them to come out right now" and say it. The same logic appeared to be behind a carefully worded directive issued by Attorney General William Barr, who authorized federal prosecutors to investigate "specific allegations" of voter fraud while warning against "specious, speculative, fanciful or far-fetched claims." The memo prompted the Justice Department's top election-crimes prosecutor to resign his post in protest.

The carefully calibrated message Republican officials hoped to send—that the process should be allowed to play out, even if it seemed destined to end in Biden's taking office—wasn't what Trump's supporters heard. A YouGov/*Economist* survey, taken amid Trump's fundraising blitz to "defend the election," found that 86% of his supporters believe Biden was not the legitimate winner. Another poll conducted by *Politico* and Morning Consult found the percentage of Republicans who do not believe the election was free and fair has doubled since Election Day, to 70%.

For McConnell, all that may be secondary to a pair of pending Senate runoffs in Georgia that will determine whether he remains majority leader. Neither of the state's GOP Senators, David Perdue and Kelly Loeffler, topped 50% in separate elections on Nov. 3, forcing both to compete in Jan. 5 runoffs against Democratic challengers Jon Ossoff and



DEC. 14

Electors vote in their states

Electors convene in their states and cast ballots. The votes are counted, and the electors sign certificates finalizing the results.

Potential obstacles Some electors may turn out to be "faithless"—meaning they cast a vote for a candidate other than the one reflecting their state voters' preference. Election experts say that given Biden's relatively large lead, such electors are unlikely to make a difference in the outcome.

DEC. 23

Electoral votes head to Washington, D.C.

Those certificates must be delivered to Vice President Mike Pence, in his capacity as Senate president, as well as the national archivist and state representatives.

Potential obstacles Once the congressional count starts in January, lawmakers can still object to electoral votes. Objections must be submitted in writing by at least one member of the House and Senate, then accepted with a majority vote in both chambers.

JAN. 6

The new Congress counts the vote

Pence officially declares the winner of the 2020 election.

Potential obstacles Pence, who presides over this session, holds the tie-breaking vote in the Senate should any disputes arise. If no candidate reaches 270 electoral votes, the decision goes to the House of Representatives, where state delegations vote to select the next President. The Senate selects the Vice President.

JAN. 20

Biden is inaugurated

Biden and Vice President–elect Kamala Harris are expected to take their oaths of office on Jan. 20, 2021.

Potential obstacles None that would help President Trump remain in office. If all the previous steps have gone wrong and there is still no resolution to the race on Inauguration Day, federal law mandates that the incumbent nevertheless vacates the White House. He is temporarily replaced by the Speaker of the House.

Raphael Warnock. Of the other 98 seats in the chamber, Republicans currently hold 50 while Democrats hold 48. Trump's phantom claims of rampant voting irregularities pitted Georgia Republicans against one another, with Perdue and Loeffler calling on the GOP secretary of state to resign despite no evidence of fraud on his watch.

The Senate has its work cut out just getting to January. Before the election, McConnell tried to unite Senate Republicans behind a new COVID-19 relief package but failed in part because of mixed signals from the White House. Congress has been laboring to put together spending bills to keep the government running past the Dec. 11 expiration of funds. Both those tasks were complicated by the election standoff; the White House has reportedly instructed federal agencies to continue drafting a budget proposal for presentation in February.

IT'S ANOTHER SIGN that Trump, rather than working through the stages of grief, is digging in. The head of White House personnel reportedly put out word that any staffers caught job hunting would be fired. Trump seized the moment to settle scores: in addition to Defense Secretary Mark Esper, he pushed out top officials at the National Nuclear Security Administration, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Washington buzzed about the possible dismissals of the FBI director, Chris Wray, and CIA director, Gina Haspel. Some observers wondered whether Trump might follow through on his pre-election musings and try to get rid of prominent government scientists such as Dr. Anthony Fauci and Dr. Deborah Birx whose reality-based pandemic assessments have made him look bad.

The President has already begun issuing Executive Orders and rules that the incoming Administration opposes. He has proposed regulations that would make a large proportion of the civil service subject to political oversight, allow the sale of oil and gas permits in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and require the renewal of regulations under the purview of the Health and Human Services Department. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi argued that last rule would burden the Food and Drug Administration at a time when the agency's attention should be focused on a coronavirus vaccine. Liberals expect more last-minute deregulation is in the works.

The President has pushed to cement his foreign policies as well. Trump keeps piling sanctions on Iran, making it more difficult for Biden to undo them. He appears committed to carrying out the peace deal signed with the Taliban in Afghanistan, even though its forces continue to attack American allies and the civilian population. He has yet to

sign an extension of the New START nuclear treaty with Russia, meaning the size of the arsenals of the world's two largest nuclear powers would be unrestricted come February. And Trump was thought to be considering troop withdrawals from international hot spots.

Still ahead could be a final spate of pardons. It is common, if controversial, for outgoing Presidents to issue a handful as they leave office, but none has used his pardoning power as brazenly as Trump, according to Jack Goldsmith, a former George W. Bush Administration lawyer: nearly 90% of Trump's pardons to date have gone to people with a personal or political connection to him. "The fact that he has just a few weeks left in power and the fact that he and his friends and family face potential legal exposure leads me to think he will issue a lot of self-serving pardons," says Goldsmith, the co-author of *After Trump: Reconstructing the Presidency*. In the past, Trump has told staffers he would pardon them if they had to break the law to do his bidding, former aides say, and has publicly mused about pardoning himself. It's not clear whether he has the power to do that, says Goldsmith, who sees a broad array of unilateral powers Trump might abuse on his way out, including the disclosure of sensitive national-security information. "Any hard power, any power he can exercise on his own from the Oval Office that he thinks will bring him some advantage, he will exercise."

Transition experts say the process has worked in the past because outgoing Presidents have not wanted their legacies stained by lame-duck mischief. "Biden is the likely pilot of the plane that we're all flying, and we all ought to want him to be ready to go on day one," says Max Stier, president and CEO of the Partnership for Public Service. A President who doesn't think in those terms has all kinds of ways to make trouble that will outlast his time in office.

BIDEN HAS IGNORED the chaos emanating from the White House and acted the part of the incoming President. The evening after the election was called, as joyful Democrats across the country celebrated in the streets, he gave a victory speech despite the lack of a traditional concession from his opponent. On Nov. 9, he took a briefing from the COVID-19 advisory board he had named, led by former surgeon general Vivek Murthy, former FDA commissioner David Kessler and Yale School of Medicine researcher Marcella Nunez-Smith. The team also included Rick Bright, who says he was dismissed from the Health and Human Services Department for resisting Trump's push for hydroxychloroquine.

A transition website was posted. The Secret Service beefed up its protective protocols. Congratulatory calls from foreign leaders—even Trump-friendly ones such as Israel's Benjamin Netanyahu, India's Narendra Modi and Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdogan—trickled in without the help of the State Department, whose Secretary, Mike Pompeo, joked about a "smooth transition to a second Trump Administration." Biden gave a speech on health care in front of a screen with an OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT logo and released a list of dozens of members of "agency review teams," a shadow version of the teams that would get office space in Cabinet departments during a normal transition process. Trump's "failure to recognize our win does not change the dynamic of what we're able to do," Biden said. "We're going to be moving along in a consistent manner, putting together our Administration, our White House, reviewing who we're going to pick for Cabinet positions, and nothing's going to stop it."

If Biden's campaign has been an audition for the presidency, the transition effort is a dress rehearsal. "You can't ignore the noise, but you can certainly proceed through it," says Scott Mulhauser, a Democratic consultant and former Biden aide who remains close to the incoming President's team. "You take on the legal fights and the obstruction as it comes, but you can't let that distract from the business of preparing to govern. The reality is, at some point the Trump Administration will have to turn over the keys, whether they like it or not."

The Biden campaign began its privately funded transition effort over the summer, creating policy committees that prepared recommendations. Biden,





Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell prepares to speak with the media at the U.S. Capitol on Nov. 10

TASOS KATOPODIS—GETTY IMAGES

Vice President–elect Kamala Harris and their aides are meeting on Zoom and vetting potential appointees. The 16-member transition advisory board includes Cindy McCain, former Deputy Attorney General Sally Yates, Pete Buttigieg, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers president Lonnie Stephenson and New Mexico Governor Michelle Lujan Grisham. "There are about 4,000 presidential appointees, and we are trying to get as many in on day one as possible," says Felicia Wong, a transition-team member who serves as president and CEO of the progressive Roosevelt Institute. Over the coming weeks, she says, "the clarity of messaging is really important: this is what we're here to do, this is what we're going to do, these are the tools to do it, even given the uncertainty."

Speaking for herself, not the transition effort, Wong hopes the new Administration will take quick executive action to reduce economic inequality, such as forgiving federally held student-loan debt and raising the minimum wage for federal contractors. Other progressives, realizing that a divided Congress derails their most ambitious plans, are looking at executive actions to address climate change. "No, there isn't the ability to pass landmark climate legislation if McConnell chooses to shut it down at every turn," says Varshini Prakash, executive director of the Sunrise Movement, "but there's a lot Joe Biden can do."

If Democrats had won in a landslide and gained unified control in Washington, an emboldened left would have pressured a Biden Administration to pursue progressive policies and name a liberal Cabinet. Most acknowledge that's no longer realistic, viewing the chances of victory in both Georgia Senate runoffs as slim. Without the Senate, Democrats have little hope of dramatically expanding the Affordable Care Act or repealing Trump's tax cuts. Instead, once Biden takes office, much may depend on his relationship with McConnell, who is viewed only slightly more favorably than Satan by most Democrats for his obstruction of Obama-era policies and his manipulation of Supreme Court vacancies. When Biden was Vice President, he was sometimes dispatched to cut deals with McConnell when other Democrats couldn't, and usually succeeded, though some Democrats thought he gave up too much. If McConnell remains majority leader, he will see his task as keeping the new Democratic Administration from veering too far left in its policies and Cabinet picks, says his former aide Antonia Ferrier. "There is going to be a far less ambitious congressional agenda with Mitch McConnell as the majority leader of the Senate. That's just a fact," Ferrier says. "Senator McConnell and President-elect Biden have had a productive and respectful relationship for decades. They have the ability to negotiate with each other in an honest manner. It won't be the progressive dream some on the left wanted, but that doesn't mean it won't be productive."

The new Administration's top priorities will surely be COVID-19 and the economy, but foreign affairs may be where Biden has the most latitude. Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, expects a Biden Administration to swiftly rejoin the World Health Organization and the Paris climate accord, and to pursue fresh versions of New START and the Iran nuclear deal. What will take more time is regaining U.S. credibility with the allies who have been ill-treated for the past four years, and re-establishing America's reputation as a beacon of democratic values—particularly given the spectacle that's currently unfolding. "Assuming we will get through this, it shows that yet again, this Administration has taken on our democratic norms but, in the end, failed," Haass says. "There will be a tremendous sense of relief among the world's democracies." The way the transition is unfolding so far in Washington, they won't be alone. —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON, CHARLOTTE ALTER, BRIAN BENNETT, TESSA BERENSON, LESLIE DICKSTEIN, PHILIP ELLIOTT, MARIAH ESPADA, W.J. HENNIGAN *and* JULIA ZORTHIAN

ELECTION 2020



Biden supporters flooded the streets near the White House on Nov. 7 to celebrate after several agonizing days of vote counting

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER VAN AGTMAEL—MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR TIME

ELECTION 2020

HOW BIDEN WON

With a promise to make America good again

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER





Biden smiles at supporters on the night he was declared the winner of the presidential election

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANGELA WEISS

THE ONLY THING MORE POWERFUL THAN A DRAGON IS A DRAGON SLAYER.

For four years, Donald Trump's penchant for division and chaos was the dominant force in American life. In the end, after a long and excruciating battle, it was vanquished by Joe Biden's promise of decency, unity and national healing.

Biden's win was at once widely anticipated and stubbornly doubted, and came after days of agonizing vote counts that began with deficits in key swing states. Biden stayed calm through early defeats on election night, urged patience during delays in crucial states and projected confidence despite torrents of disinformation spread by the President. By Nov. 7, it was clear Biden had rebuilt the so-called blue wall that crumbled in 2016; first Wisconsin, then Michigan, then finally Pennsylvania tipped in Biden's favor, a slow drumbeat of rejection of a President who had won all three states four years ago.

In the end, Biden won more votes than any presidential candidate in American history, shattering Barack Obama's record. He won with a coalition of young voters, college-educated suburbanites and voters of color. Nearly every major Democrat played a role in his ensemble victory: Pete Buttigieg and Amy Klobuchar helped him win the primary; Bernie Sanders helped him unite the party; Stacey Abrams helped deliver a likely win in an unlikely state, Georgia.

Biden's triumph was also a vindication of a style of American politics that many feared was gone forever. A career politician in a nation that claims to loathe them, Biden won not with historic momentum as Obama did, nor by surprise as Trump did, but with the steadfast deliberation of a man who knows who he is and what America needs.

Throughout a contentious Democratic primary and a general election upended by a plague, Biden stuck to the same message he's had since he announced his campaign in 2019: a promise to govern with compassion, to provide experience in a time of crisis, to "restore the soul of the nation." At first, the message seemed out of step with the times, but then very quickly, the times changed. The COVID-19 pandemic made much of the nation yearn for a leader with competence and empathy. In the end, the contrasts between candidates broke in his favor: an experienced statesman vs. an incompetent President, a leader who comforted COVID-stricken families vs. a celebrity who mocked the virus, a candidate who pledged to heal a nation vs. an incumbent who had nearly ripped it apart.

MESSAGES ALONE DON'T win elections. Campaigns do, and Biden's once rickety crew grew into perhaps the most sophisticated digital operation in American political history. After Biden limped out of the primary with a skeletal team and lackluster fundraising, COVID-19 forced the famously personable candidate to stump from his home office. Biden's team ripped up its playbook and built a state-of-the-art digital shop, running the general-election campaign nearly entirely online, using data-driven texts, calls and Facebook groups. By the fall, the Biden campaign was like a vintage Corvette with a brand-new engine, racing against a monster truck careening off the road.

Biden's most important move was to stay the course, keeping out of Trump's way as the incumbent imploded. Trump began 2020 as the third President ever impeached and went on to bungle the federal response to a virus that has killed more than 240,000 Americans. "It's always been my feeling that Trump would defeat Trump," says veteran Democratic strategist David Axelrod. "Part of politics is being good and part of politics is being lucky, and Biden was lucky to have Trump as an opponent."

But sometimes you make your own luck. And after three presidential campaigns, 36 years in the Senate and eight years as Vice President—after a lifetime of being almost the right person at nearly the right time—Joe Biden was finally the man for the moment.



As he campaigned through Iowa before COVID-19, Biden was the candidate of hugs and handshakes

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS FOR TIME

That moment was nearly four years in the making. Just hours after Trump took the oath of office, millions of activists poured into the streets for the Women's March, considered the largest single-day protest in U.S. history. Then they returned home and started organizing with their neighbors. These new activists, many of them women, ran for office in record numbers; by 2018, their energy flipped the House of Representatives, along with six state legislative chambers and seven governor's seats. By the time the presidential primary rolled around, the base was primed and ready.

When Biden joined the race in April 2019, it was as an old soldier stepping into one final battle. After eight years of serving as Vice President to the most popular figure in the party, and with decades of deep relationships to build on, it was no surprise that polls registered him as the front runner. The President's impeachment—over a "do us a favor" call to the President of Ukraine—flowed from efforts to sabotage the possibility of a Biden candidacy; the President regarded him as the only Democrat who could beat him. Yet as the race began, the presumptive favorite seemed a step slow and three years too late.

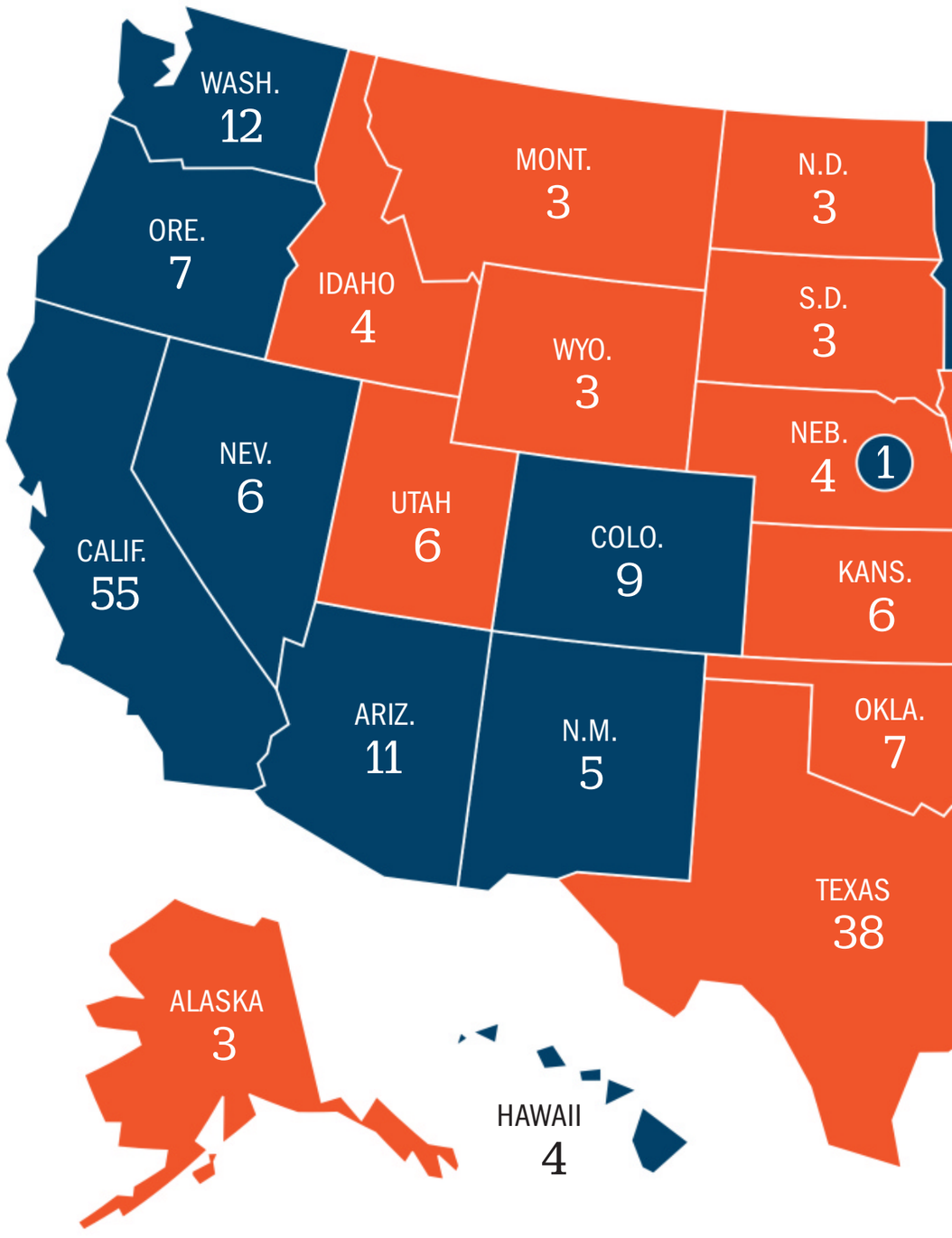
"You don't need to do this," Biden's close friend Delaware Senator Chris Coons recalls telling him.

"But does the country need me to do this?" Biden replied. "Yes," Coons told him. "You are the candidate who can win."

BIDEN LAUNCHED HIS CAMPAIGN with a video that called the fight against Trump "a battle for the soul of this nation." He called Trump's four years an aberration. "But if we give Donald Trump eight years in the White House, he will forever and fundamentally alter the character of this nation, who we are," he said. "And I cannot stand by and watch that happen."

This was the story Joe Biden told about America, a story that barely changed in the ensuing 18 months. In his telling, our country is defined by its fundamental decency, and that decency—more than policy or ideology or economy—was on the ballot. America was a nation full of honorable people who had made a mistake by electing the wrong President, but given half a chance they'd return to their true character. Trump ran on one vision of American greatness; Biden sought a return to American goodness.

In a crowded field of movement leaders like Sanders, policy wonks like Senator Elizabeth Warren, and history makers like Buttigieg and Senator Kamala Harris, Biden could barely pack a room. But he made a key decision early: to hold firm to the center while his rivals raced to the left. As they argued over the details of Medicare for All, Biden defended Obama's Affordable Care Act. While they gave rousing speeches about "revolution" and "big structural change," he reassured Americans that he could carry them back to a calmer, less politically divisive past.

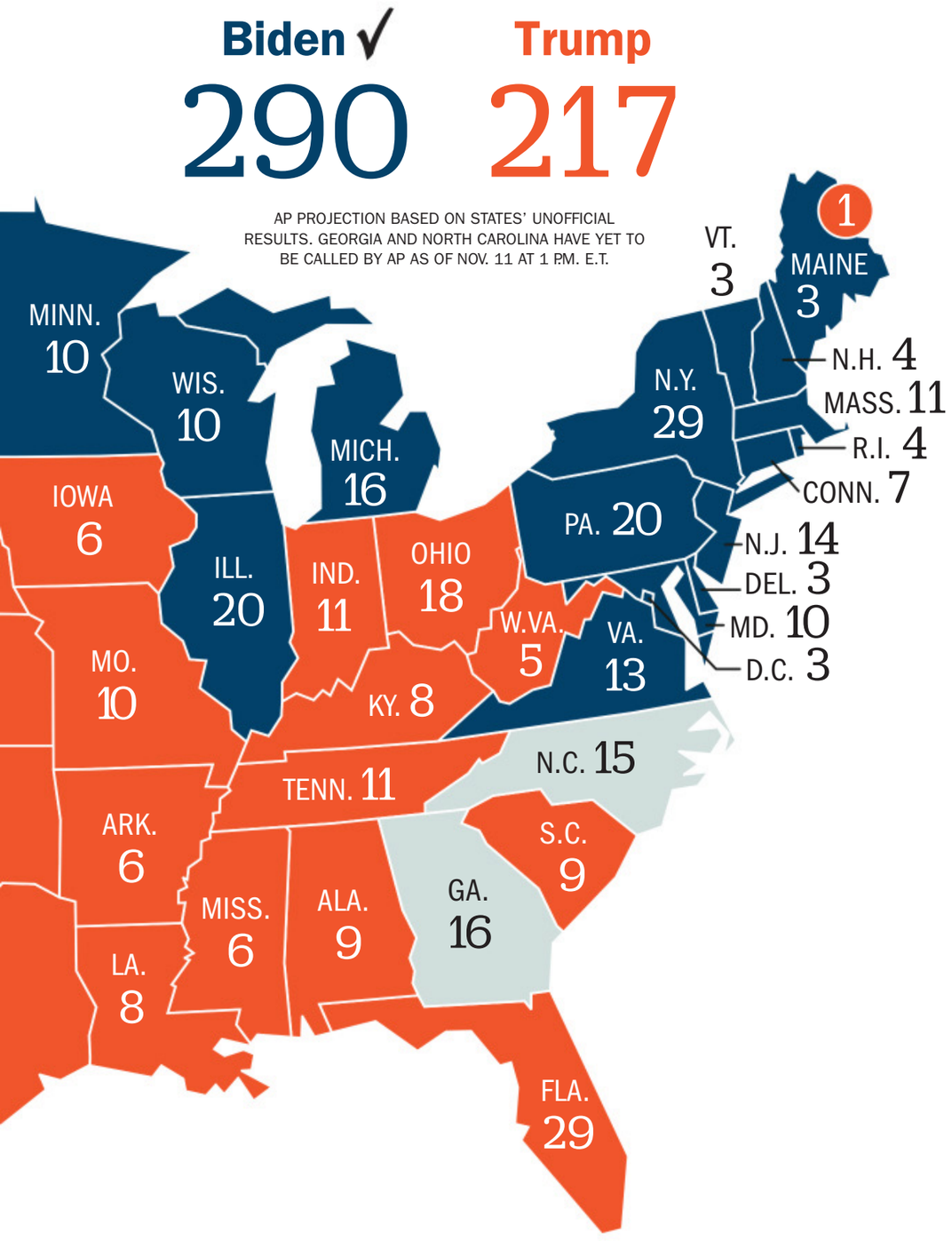


At first, nobody seemed to be listening. Biden trailed Buttigieg and Sanders in fundraising and fervor. He came in fourth in Iowa and fifth in New Hampshire. He seemed too old, too white, too centrist, too yesterday. "The consistent criticism was, 'Oh, Biden's not woke enough, he doesn't have enough followers on Twitter, he's not snappy enough,'" Coons says. "Joe has consistently seen who Middle America still is. And it's easy to miss that if the first thing you do is look at Twitter."

So Biden plowed ahead, handshake by handshake, hug by hug. On the trail, he did what he has done for more than 40 years, listening as voters confided in him about the worst moments of their lives, because they already knew about his: his wife and daughter killed in a car accident on their way to buy Christmas presents in 1972; his son Beau felled by brain cancer in the prime of his life, in 2015. In the elevator on the way to his New York *Times* editorial-board interview, a security guard named Jacquelyn turned to him and said, "You're my favorite." Biden didn't get the *Times* endorsement, but got a selfie with Jacquelyn. And it turned out the loyalty of people like her would be the most important factor in the race.

The campaign kept insisting that if they could just make it to South Carolina, they'd be back in the running. With the help of an endorsement from a South Carolina kingmaker, Representative Jim Clyburn, Biden carried the state with decisive support from Black voters. "It was as important for him to win South

OPENING SPREAD: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; FOLLOWING SPREAD: AP



Carolina as it was for President Obama to win Iowa," says Valerie Jarrett, a longtime adviser to both men.

The race changed overnight—literally. The next morning, Buttigieg took a hard look at his numbers. "By the time I went to bed that Saturday night, that path was slipping away," he said. His dropout and endorsement triggered a moderate consolidation: Senator Klobuchar suspended her campaign and endorsed Biden the same day; Senators Cory Booker and Harris followed suit. Suddenly the race had narrowed to Biden vs. Sanders.

THREE DAYS LATER, it was practically over. On Super Tuesday, March 3, Biden swept 10 of 14 states; a week later, he won primaries in Michigan, Missouri and Mississippi, establishing the contours of a multiracial coalition that included Black voters, suburban voters and inroads with the white working class. Sanders may have enthralled the Twitterati, but it was clear that swing-state voters saw Biden as the one who could beat Trump. "Biden did not spend a lot of time trying to appeal to the activist base of the Democratic Party," says progressive strategist Sean McElwee, "and one of the things that turns out to be true is that the old-school people had a lot of pretty decent ideas of how to make this work."

Biden came out of the primary with a lead in the polls but a slim staff, lots of momentum but little money. "The campaign needed one of those defibrillators you use on heart-attack patients," says one senior Biden adviser. So even as the former Vice President stuck to his message, he shook up his team. He replaced campaign manager Greg Schultz with veteran operative Jen O'Malley Dillon, who had served as deputy campaign manager for Obama's 2012 re-election and had helped modernize the Democratic Party's data program. O'Malley Dillon set out to rescue a sinking ship that happened to be floating in the right direction.

It wasn't just that she had to refit; she had to construct something barely resembling a typical campaign. There would be no throngs of canvassers, no big rallies, no fancy fundraisers. It was deemed too dangerous for the 77-year-old candidate to campaign in person, so for months he did virtual events from his home. Trump mocked him, but Biden again tuned out the noise. He released a detailed plan to tackle the pandemic and another for rebuilding the economy. Trump went golfing as the COVID-19 death toll approached 100,000; Biden commemorated the grim milestone with a solemn two-minute video message to the families of the dead. "I think I know what you're feeling," he said. "You feel like you're being sucked into a black hole in the middle of your chest."

Early on, O'Malley Dillon decided a traditional field operation wouldn't work during a pandemic. Trump's campaign was still knocking on doors and registering voters, but Biden's would be run almost entirely online. So even though her background was in field organizing, O'Malley Dillon turned the Biden campaign into perhaps the largest digital organizing machine in American electoral history. Instead of outsourcing the digital operation, she built it in-house: turbocharging the growth of Biden's email list, spending millions on online advertising and building a digital staff that was 15 times bigger than it had been in the primary, including many staffers from rival primary campaigns. Former Harris, Warren and Sanders staffers brought new digital strategies into Bidenworld, particularly the idea of a national distributed organizing model pioneered by the Sanders campaign: an army of safe-state volunteers who could be digitally deployed wherever the campaign needed them.

It worked. By September, the digital operation was printing money: Biden and the Democrats raised $364.5 million in August, the largest one-month haul ever by a presidential campaign, a record they broke the following month with $383 million in September.

The pandemic made the race a referendum on Trump and kept his failures in the headlines. The President had "so many dropped balls," says Republican strategist Ron Bonjean, beginning with his "inability to empathize with the American people about the situation they're in."

By the fall, Biden had hit his stride: he was an analog candidate with a classic 20th century message, running a 21st century virtual juggernaut. The digital strategy allowed his team to keep a gaffe-prone candidate under wraps, shielding his missteps and blasting

his charming moments. It paid off: when Biden tapped Harris as his running mate, the choice was broadcast to supporters via text message instead of leaking to the press, allowing the campaign to channel the excitement over the nomination of the first Black woman Vice President into hard cash: $26 million in 24 hours, a tremendous fundraising spree. By the fall, Biden outspent Trump nearly 2 to 1 on the airwaves in battleground states. Digital organizers recruited more than 200,000 volunteers to send hundreds of millions of text messages and phone calls.

HE ALSO SUCCESSFULLY sidestepped most of the attacks Trump could use against him. Biden embraced a robust climate-and-jobs plan developed with the help of top youth climate leaders and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, but rejected the idea of a Green New Deal. He supported racial-justice protests, but didn't join calls to "defund the police." Trump tried to attack Biden as part of the "radical left," but it rang hollow; calling him a "socialist" didn't stick (though the attacks may have resonated with Cubans in Florida). Trump tried bullying Biden at a debate, which backfired. Circulating rumors about the former Vice President's son Hunter failed. "Stability has been the hallmark of this campaign, in the primary and the general," says Biden's longtime pollster John Anzalone.

The campaign stayed focused on the states he needed to win, without getting distracted by Democratic pipe dreams. His advisers always knew that the path to victory wound through the Upper Midwest, so Biden and his surrogates barnstormed through Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania in the final weeks of the campaign. The plan was to boost urban and suburban turnout that had sagged in 2016, while cutting into Trump's rural margins.

This strategy required patience and fortitude through what campaign brass knew would be a long election week. Early returns would show Trump in the lead in key states, top staff warned, and it could take days to count the mail-in votes coming out of Democratic strongholds. It was all about sticking to the plan and staying the course. Or, as Biden and Harris both tweeted: "Keep the faith."

It turned out Biden had been right all along: after four years of chaos and division, America didn't want a revolution; it just wanted a break. And so, armed with a stable campaign in unstable times, and a comforting message in a disquieting moment, Joe Biden completed his slow and steady march to victory, exactly as he said he would. —*With reporting by* TESSA BERENSON/WASHINGTON *and* LESLIE DICKSTEIN *and* JULIA ZORTHIAN/NEW YORK



Vice President Biden and Senator Harris accepting their party's nomination on Aug. 20

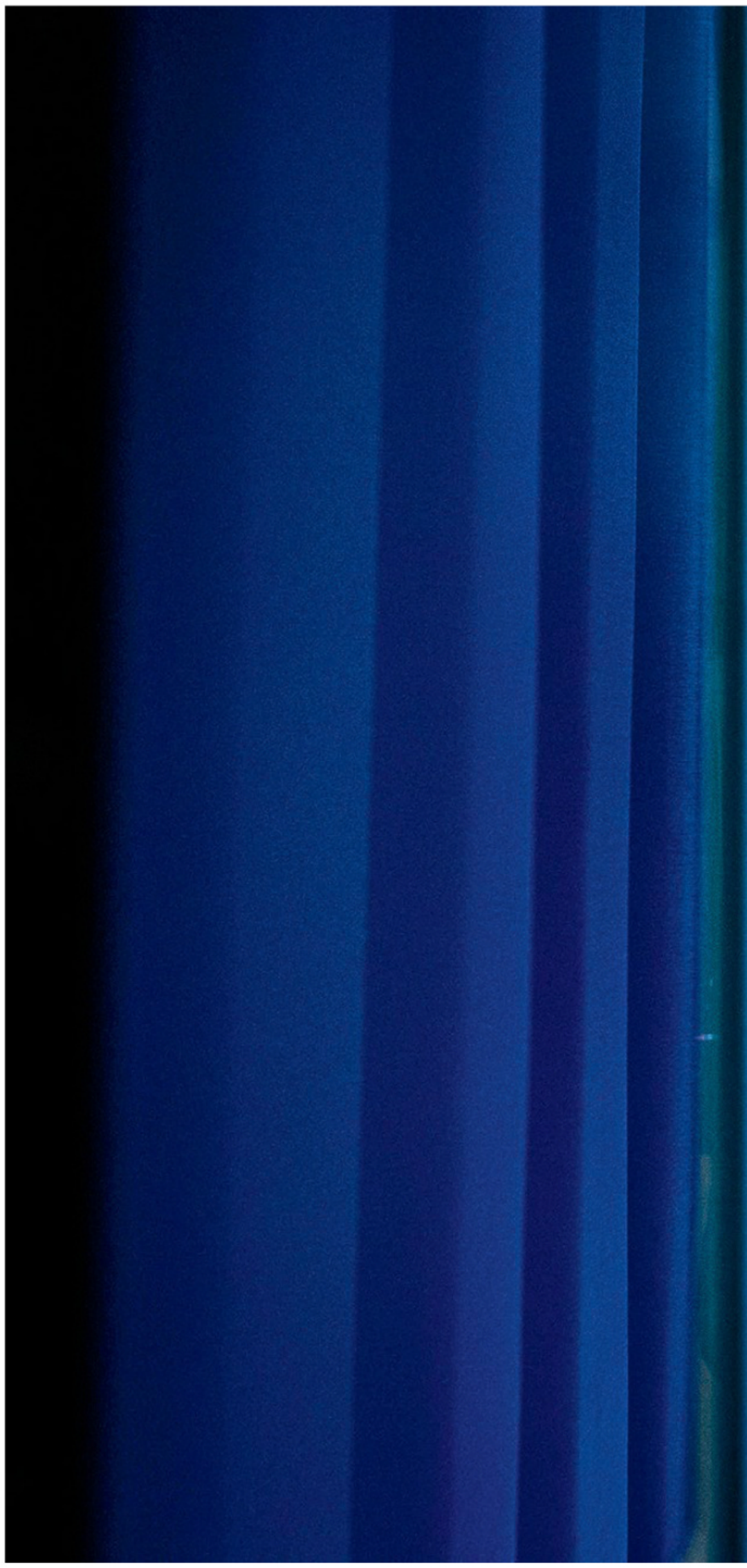
PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK



HOW TRUMP LOST

A pandemic found the limits of a President without boundaries

BY BRIAN BENNETT AND TESSA BERENSON



IT ALL FINALLY CAUGHT UP TO HIM. THE LIES, THE boasts, the disorder and disastrous management, the rants and the race-baiting, the predatory instincts and compulsion to dominate—all the things that made Donald Trump the ringmaster of the American political circus at last compelled a majority of voters to drive him out of the tent.

Modern American history had not seen his like: a showman President who held rapt the country he inflamed, and asked little of citizens except praise. In the end, Trump's pride did not just precede his fall; it precipitated it. Until the final months, his campaign was managed by a novice. Trump thought he could wish away a deadly virus. He governed only to his base and, facing re-election without ever having cracked 50% approval in Gallup polling, refused to pivot toward the center that decides winners. He rarely spoke of a policy vision for a second term. And yet he outperformed the expectations of many, thanks to a formidable ground game, a sophisticated campaign data operation and a passionate base of support still drawn to his no-holds-barred style, his push for deregulation and tax cuts, and his conservative makeover of the federal judiciary.

Trump's presidency was marked by scandals and controversies as varied as they were alarming. He refused to face the roots of the country's racial disparities and doubled down on a message of white grievance. One of the dominant political trends of his tenure was the exodus of suburbanites, white women, college-educated voters and independents from the Republican Party. His prospects for re-election were dragged down by a pandemic that exposed his weaknesses along with ours. Chief among them was his reckless approach to a virus that landed him in the hospital at the peak of the campaign. "If the President never gets COVID, he wins the election. Our polling showed a significant dip when that happened, particularly with suburban, college-educated, non-liberal men," says GOP strategist Brad Todd. "Trump getting COVID sent a signal to those people that his management style had consequences, even for him personally, and was therefore unlikely to change."

Presidents' legacies are formed in the crucible of great challenges. When COVID-19 hit, Trump pulled open the tears in our national fabric even wider. Just before Election Day, as the U.S. suffered its worst spike in cases since the pandemic began, Trump mocked the virus as a media conspiracy.

Voters knew better. More than 10 million Americans were infected, and of the roughly 240,000 who died, the majority were seniors, a demographic group crucial to Trump's 2016 win. The crisis called for a President who could be tough and empathetic, put forth concrete plans to deal with it and mourn with



Trump leaves the White House press briefing room after making a defiant statement on Nov. 5

DOUG MILLS—NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

American families who had lost loved ones in lonely hospital rooms. Trump was defeated because of his "failure to connect on the thing that voters most cared about, which was coronavirus," says Sarah Longwell, founder of Republican Voters Against Trump (RVAT). While legions lost jobs, closed businesses, refrained from hugging their aging parents and homeschooled their children, "what Trump did was decide to pretend like coronavirus wasn't the most dominant thing in people's lives," Longwell says.

The rifts he widened will not be easily repaired. The 2020 election and its aftermath prove Trump still has a hold on the Republican Party. In defeat, he won millions more votes than he did in 2016.

ONE KEY MISTAKE CAME nearly three years ago, when Trump hired Brad Parscale as his campaign manager. A digital guru, Parscale ran a social media advertising blitz on Facebook that helped Trump win the White House. But Parscale had never managed a campaign, let alone one for an incumbent President with a perilously narrow path to re-election. He spent lavishly, burning through hundreds of millions of dollars and frittering away a sizable cash advantage. "Brad had never run any campaign before," says Mike DuHaime, a veteran Republican strategist, and "to suddenly put him in charge of a billion-dollar operation I think is unfair and a bad decision." (Parscale says the campaign budget and his spending were approved by several other senior campaign leaders. "You can disagree with my strategy or my budget, but saying I didn't have one is ridiculous," he says.)

In July, Trump replaced Parscale with deputy campaign manager Bill Stepien, who set about

controlling the campaign budget and cutting television spending and travel expenses. But former Vice President Joe Biden's massive cash lead hamstrung Trump's efforts to close the gap down the stretch.

The bigger problem was Stepien's client. Trump lost the national popular vote by nearly 3 million in 2016, but never attempted to expand his support beyond his hardcore base. His feuds eroded his support in key states with close races. Trump appears to have lost Arizona after insulting the state's favorite son, the late Republican Senator John McCain. If he turns out to have lost Georgia, it will be in part because of strong Democratic turnout around Atlanta, in the district formerly represented by the late Representative John Lewis, whose civil rights legacy Trump dismissed.

Amid a nationwide uprising over systemic racism, Trump denied the underlying issues. He never attempted to unite the country or speak to its shared pain. On June 5, less than two weeks after the killing of George Floyd, and with the nation gripped by Black Lives Matter protests, Trump held a rambling press conference and touted a strong jobs report and the Constitution's promise of equal justice under the law. "Hopefully George is looking down right now and saying this is a great thing that's happening for our country," Trump said. "This is a great day for him. It's a great day for everybody."

At the start of the year, the President's advisers saw the economy as his strongest argument for reelection. When it cratered because of the coronavirus, his campaign said he was the best person to bring the economy back. With high unemployment and millions out of work, "the coronavirus ended the economic sugar rush," says Timothy Naftali, a historian at New York University. "That was his undoing."

Trump didn't stick to the script, either. His closing campaign argument was a litany of grievances: against the media; against Dr. Anthony Fauci; against the phantom "fraud" of mail-in voting; against the hard reality of increasing COVID-19 cases. He refused to see the writing on the wall in the final days of the vote count, spreading unfounded allegations of voter fraud and baselessly claiming that Democrats had stolen the election. The race showed the power he still has to drive GOP voter turnout, and Republicans have rallied to his defense once more.

But once the election results are certified, it will be harder to deny that Trump has become the one thing he was raised to fear being most: a loser. "Losing is never easy," Trump mused at his campaign headquarters on Election Day. "Not for me, it's not." For a man who has craved praise above all else, being the first President in nearly 30 years to be cast aside after a single term must be a difficult blow. —*With reporting by* MOLLY BALL, MARIAH ESPADA *and* ABBY VESOULIS

NATION

TRUMP'S TRIALS, AFTER IMMUNITY

He couldn't be prosecuted in office. Should he be when he leaves?

BY SIMON SHUSTER AND VERA BERGENGRUEN

IN OCTOBER 2019, ABOUT A YEAR BEfore Election Day, a lawyer representing Donald Trump made a striking argument before a courtroom in Manhattan. Even if the President were actually to shoot someone on Fifth Avenue, he could not be charged with a crime while in office, the lawyer, William Consovoy, told the court. He was careful to note, however, "This is not a permanent immunity."

That much is beyond dispute. While legal scholars have long debated whether a sitting President can be charged with a crime, they tend to agree that former Presidents are fair game. Their immunity from prosecution disappears when they leave office, and that is a sobering thought for a President with as many legal vulnerabilities as Trump.

Prosecutors in Manhattan spent the past year investigating the alleged hush money Trump paid in 2016 to Stormy Daniels, an adult-film star. Special counsel Robert Mueller found evidence that Trump obstructed justice on at least three occasions, and as many as 10, during the investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 elections. Then there are the civil lawsuits—dozens of them—and the issues stemming from last year's impeachment inquiry, which found that Trump used military aid to squeeze Ukraine for a political favor.

Trump has denied wrongdoing in all these cases, and he routinely dismisses the investigations against him as hoaxes and witch hunts. His attorney Jay Sekulow did not respond to TIME's request for comment.



A protester in Washington, D.C., breaks a ceramic MAGA hat on Nov. 4

ELIZABETH BICK FOR TIME

Jack Goldsmith, a Harvard legal scholar who served as Assistant Attorney General under President George W. Bush, says the question of whether to prosecute will be among the toughest facing Joe Biden's Administration. "He will be under enormous pressure from elements in his party to investigate Trump," Goldsmith says. But that doesn't mean Biden will do it—or should. No President in U.S. history has faced prosecution for actions taken in office after he stepped down, and Biden has said he would let the Justice Department decide whether to challenge that norm with Trump.

The case posing the most immediate legal threat to Trump is one arising from actions he took before becoming President, says Barbara McQuade, a former U.S. Attorney in Michigan who is part of Biden's transition team. While probing the payments to Daniels, Manhattan prosecutors cited news reports alleging that Trump had falsified the value of his assets in order to receive bank loans. Trump's former lawyer Michael Cohen provided the House Oversight Committee with financial statements that he said were evidence of the way Trump "inflated his total assets when it served his purposes." He testified that this was common practice for his then boss, whom he called a "con man."

The district attorney in charge of that case, Cyrus Vance, has said he is looking into the Trump Organization's "possibly extensive and protracted criminal conduct," including possible insurance and bank fraud. Vance's office has subpoenaed Trump's tax records, and the President's lawyers have fought all the way to the Supreme Court to keep the records secret.

It was in trying to prevent the release of those records that his lawyer Consovoy made the argument last year about the President's shooting someone on Fifth Avenue. The strategy ultimately failed: the Supreme Court ruled in July that Trump must comply with the subpoena. "No citizen, not even the President, is categorically above the common duty to produce evidence when called upon in a criminal proceeding," Chief Justice John Roberts wrote for the majority.

The ruling allowed Trump to appeal in lower courts, which his lawyers were quick to do. But if Vance gets his hands on Trump's tax records, his office may be able to build a case on documents alone, without relying on Trump's former associates to testify against him. Says McQuade, the former U.S. Attorney: "Documents don't lie." Worse, for Trump, as a local prosecutor, Vance can bring a case against Trump in New York even if the U.S. Justice Department decides not to charge the ex-President with any federal crimes. Not even a presidential pardon would protect Trump from a ruling against him in Vance's district, or in any state or local jurisdiction.

BEYOND THE SUBPOENAS coming from Vance and perhaps other state and local prosecutors, Democratic lawmakers are likely to use their own powers to seek records from Trump and his aides once the Trump Administration is out of power. The Democrats and other Trump critics have repeatedly alleged that Trump violated the law before and during his presidency, and his opponents will do their best to keep the former President under intense public scrutiny in their search for evidence.

If it does emerge, Trump may face a more forgiving future on the federal level, however. When it comes to federal charges, the Justice Department would have to look at what McQuade calls the "collateral consequences"—in particular, the risk that putting Trump on trial would deepen the nation's political divides and rally his supporters around him. Even in a prosecutor's mind, she says, "That would count on the balance-sheet side against prosecution."

It would not be an easy call for the Justice Department, and legal experts say there is little guidance in the law or the Constitution. The closest thing to a legal precedent is the decision not to prosecute President Richard Nixon after he resigned from office. His successor, Gerald Ford, granted him a full pardon in 1974, arguing that a criminal trial would arouse "ugly passions" and further polarize the nation.

That approach has appeal even for some Trump critics, who have warned that seeking to punish him would do more to poison the body politic than to cleanse it. "The appetite for vengeance is a symptom of the same poison," the Harvard historian Jill Lepore recently wrote. "*Lock him up* cannot be the answer to *Lock her up*."

Not everyone agrees. In an interview last year, before she became Biden's running mate, Senator Kamala Harris said the Justice Department "would have no choice" but to prosecute Trump after his presidency. "There has to be accountability," she said. "The President is not above the law."

Biden has taken a much softer line. He pledged that he would not pardon Trump the way Ford pardoned Nixon. Nor would he interfere in the Justice Department's decision on whether to file any charges. "The Attorney General is not the President's private lawyer," Biden said during an interview in August.

The interviewer pressed him for a clearer answer, and the candidate smiled. "I love the way you're trying to get me into this thing about *Lock him up*," said Biden. "I'm not going there." —*With reporting by* MADELINE ROACHE

VIEWPOINT

MAKING HER ROLE COUNT

Kamala Harris' ascension to the vice presidency cannot be merely symbolic

BY BRITTNEY COOPER

WHEN AMERICANS ELECTED KAMALA HARRIS Vice President, they symbolically completed a 150-year project of recognizing the right of Black people to exercise the full franchise as citizens. In 1870, the 15th Amendment gave African-American men the right to vote. In 1920, the 19th Amendment secured the franchise for women. We commemorated both of these milestones this year, even as scholars acknowledged the ways African-American women were overlooked and, because of extreme racial repression, did not get to vote in significant numbers until the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. We also marked the battle to expand the franchise under the shadow of a massive voter-suppression campaign undertaken by conservative politicians and the current President. Stacey Abrams' 2018 gubernatorial loss in Georgia indicated that the only way to overcome all attempts to undermine Black people's voting power was to vote in overwhelming numbers, and so in order to deliver Joe Biden and Kamala Harris to victory, Black people did just that. As Harris ascends to the No. 2 role in this country, her presence offers us a chance to write a new chapter in our nation's history, or perhaps simply to complete an old one.

Americans like to celebrate progressive victories by swiftly forgetting past failures. Let us not forget the eight years that we spent touting a narrative of being "postracial." But part of what it means to have Black people in high office—or what it should mean—is a willingness to reckon with the damn near intractable barriers that made it take so long to get there. The first Black woman to express an aspiration to be Vice President was suffragist and socialite Charlotte Rollin, who joked that she would be a great VP pick in 1872. Harris is the fulfillment of a dream that Rollin could only facetiously entertain, a dream that eluded Charlotta Bass, the first Black woman to run for Vice President, in 1952.

BLACK WOMEN LEADERS are so important to this democracy precisely because they dare to keep dreaming, even after the immediacy of a perpetual



Harris delivers her victory speech in Wilmington, Del., on Nov. 7

PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER



nightmare like Donald Trump. Representation is not everything. But it is absolutely something.

Still, white liberals sometimes make the mistake of thinking symbolic gestures—like adding a Black woman to the ticket—will be enough. Biden and many white liberals have already begun to speak in the language of "healing" and "unifying" the nation, even as our wounds are still fresh. Trump's entire term has been marked by sexism and racism, yet more than 70 million Americans voted for him, in many cases not despite his abhorrent beliefs but because of them. The threat of injury from angry Trump voters remains. These Americans have no interest in being unified with a white man who would give a Black woman a shot at breaking the glass ceiling. And as a Black woman who is horrified at the overwhelming levels of support Trump received, I have no interest in any leadership that tells me I should want to be unified with people who think as the other side does.

One Black woman—historic, dope, progressive, passionate and competent though she is—is not a sufficient salve for the festering wounds of American racism and sexism. In fact, it would be unfair to ask Harris to shoulder the burden of a unifying project that began 150 years ago. But Black people are often expected to console and unify angry white folks when we make it to leadership positions. To riff on James Baldwin, it is "the price of the ticket." Harris will be in the difficult position of serving as chief confidante and loyal adviser to Biden, chief translator of Black anguish to people in power, and chief diversity officer for a nation that thinks that title is the most appropriate way to leverage Black women's formidable insights about centuries of racial injustice. Meanwhile, Black communities will demand that she represent an actual progressive agenda on race and gender justice. In the end, her job as Vice President is to support Biden in delivering on the policy promises he made, and *push him to do more*. Her presence begins rather than ends a conversation about what America owes Black women.

REPRESENTATION IS NOT EVERYTHING. BUT IT IS ABSOLUTELY SOMETHING

IT IS NOT HYPERBOLE to say that America has been snatched back from the brink of destruction primarily because of the energy Harris brought to the ticket, and the fervent organizing of Southern Black women like Stacey Abrams, who launched Fair Fight, and LaTosha Brown, who co-founded Black Voters Matter. It will take the political machinery that Abrams has built in Georgia to deliver Biden a Congress that he can actually work with to get things done. Because Biden would not be the President-elect without Black voters in cities like Detroit, Philadelphia and Atlanta, and Latinx voters in Nevada and Arizona, he must offer real plans that would improve the economic, social and political conditions of Black and brown people. Simply diversifying the country's leadership without prioritizing the well-being of the people who elected him would make Harris an empty symbol. She deserves for her tenure and presence to mean more than that.

What other Black women in leadership deserve is a range of seats at the table throughout the Biden Administration, and what everyday Black women—the Democratic Party's most committed voting bloc, who made this victory possible—deserve is increased hope, an end to COVID-19, economic opportunity, affordable health care and reproductive access, and safe communities in which to live and raise their children. What I am asking is for America to sit with what it truly means to ask Black women to energize the Democratic Party and save the country. We don't want commemorative plaques; we want comprehensive policy.

Harris' victory is a feminist one. No, she is not a radical feminist decrying capitalism or demanding abolition of prisons. But she did just strike a serious blow to one of patriarchy's most enduring monuments, America's previously all-white vice-presidential establishment. She did so as a progressive candidate with a commitment to fighting racism and sexism in policy and leadership. Her presence as both a Black and a South Asian woman is a tip of the hat to the best of women-of-color solidarity movements that have existed in this country since the beginning, and her presence is a mandate for women of color, Black women in particular, to acknowledge and use our political power to push for the things that matter to us.

During Barack Obama's presidency, we spent far too much time being enamored with the symbolism of his victory and far too little time demanding that he serve his people-of-color constituents. It is our job as citizens to make Harris' vice presidency count. That means that we must be willing to fiercely defend her in the face of racist and sexist attacks that impede her ability to do her work, and we must be willing to remind her that she works for us.

Her presence represents the maturation of Black women as political actors in a nation-state that forced us to sit at the kiddie table over and over again. Now that we have made space for ourselves at America's main table, let's go ahead and take over. The menu is ours to plan; the additional invites are ours to send; the flavor is ours to bring.

Cooper is the author of Eloquent Rage: A Black Feminist Discovers Her Superpower

NATION

When power looks like me

In the minds of many women and voters of color, Kamala Harris is second to none

BY ANNA PURNA KAMBHAMPATY AND CADY LANG



Monica Narain with her daughter at a party near a Biden campaign office in Tampa on Nov. 7

OPENING PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: OCTAVIO JONES—GETTY IMAGES

THE NEWS THAT JOE BIDEN had won the 2020 election was, especially for many women and people of color, just as much—or more—about his running mate. Upon hearing that Kamala Harris would be the first female, first Black and first Asian-American Vice President, mothers called their daughters, and children of immigrants hugged their parents. Champagne was popped.

"When [my mother] came here from India at the age of 19, maybe she didn't quite imagine this moment. But she believed so deeply in an America where a moment like this is possible," Harris said in her victory speech on Nov. 7.

Exit polls suggest that women of color voted blue by large margins. Now, having helped push the Democratic ticket to victory, many of those voters say that bearing witness to Harris' win was a moment they'll always remember—and, they hope, that will shape generations to come.

Mira Sawlani-Joyner, a 38-year-old pastor in Arlington, Va., recalls that when she first told her 7- and 8-year-old daughters how significant it would be if Harris became the first woman of color to be Vice President, her younger daughter immediately asked, "Does that mean I can be President?"

As the family watched Harris' victory speech, the conversations in the living room flowed with dreams of future administrations. "One of my daughters would say, 'I'll be President and then you can be Vice President.' Then they'd be like, 'What does that mean for our husbands? Will they be First Men? What if a woman who is President marries a woman? What if they're nonbinary? They'd be First Person.'"

To Sawlani-Joyner, who is an immigrant and whose children are Black and Indian like Harris, the potential effect of having Harris in the country's second highest office was clear. "Growing up, you're always told you can be whatever you want to be," she says. "But then that hope starts to dim as you get older and you confront a lot of barriers. But here's a woman that's overcome stereotypes and gender roles and status quo … and it means that people are going to take my daughters seriously too."

FOR SOME, that impact is already being felt. Da'Jae Allen, 15, a sophomore at Whitney M. Young Magnet High School in Chicago, says that she wants to be a cardiothoracic surgeon, but that she also feels a calling to one day enter public office—even to aim for the highest office—and that Harris has inspired her to pursue that path more confidently, believing that future barriers could be broken more quickly. "There needs to be a push now for a lot of people of color and women to go into positions in government," she says.

Not that Harris is immune to criticism from those whose identities she reflects. On Twitter in particular, many users expressed mixed emotions, recognizing the importance of what Harris represents while also criticizing her record, especially on criminal justice.

But Erica Davies, a 30-year-old voter from New York City who has both Black and Asian heritage, hopes that this moment, and what it does to encourage a more diverse group of future politicians, will bring change that goes beyond representation.

And in the meantime, the power of that representation can't be underestimated. "For kids like me who had an identity crisis when they were little or always felt like they had to choose," Davies says, "it's nice that they can see that they don't have to, and that they can really embrace all parts of themselves—and the nation will hopefully do the same as well." ◻

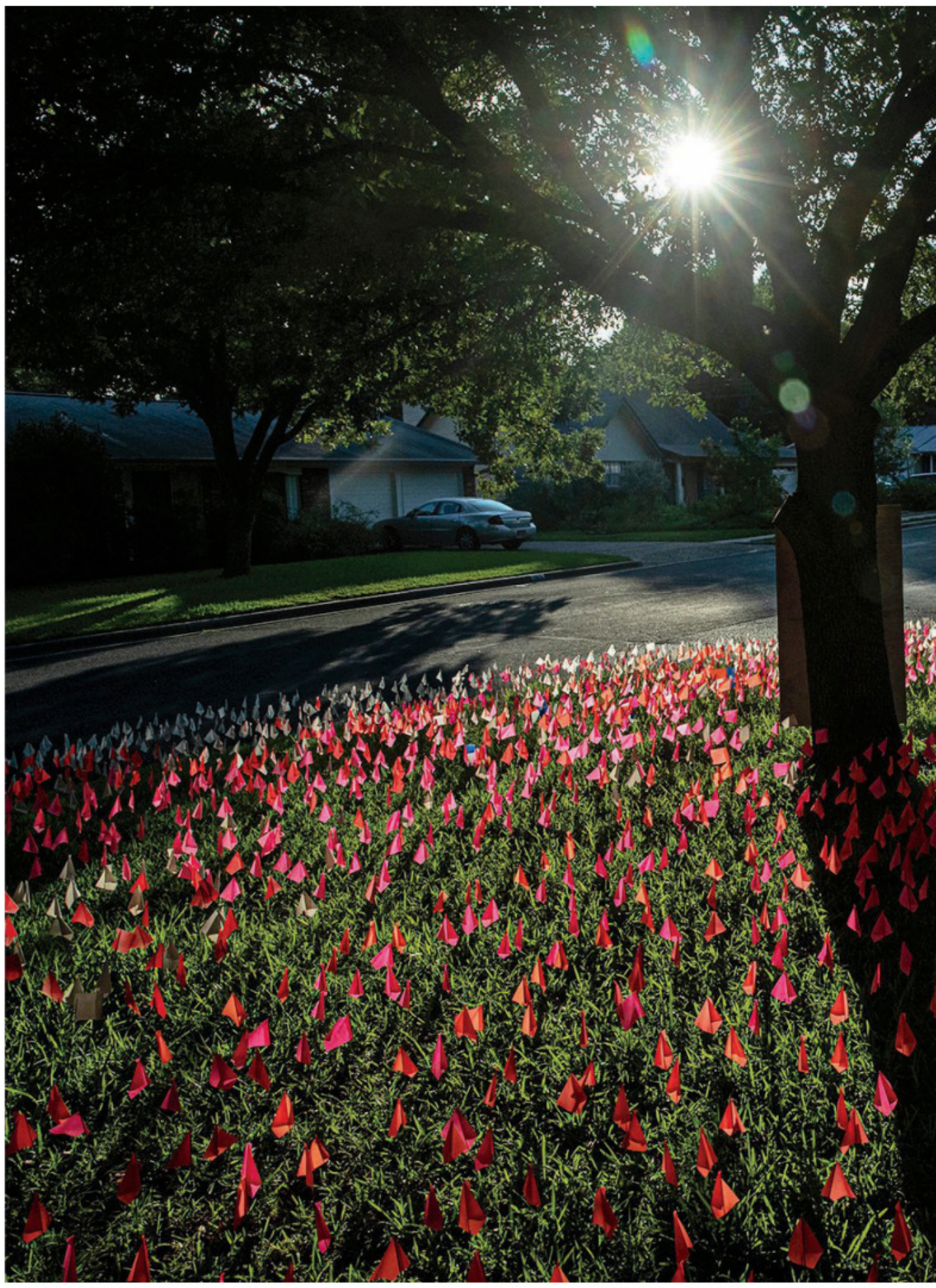
'IT MEANS THAT PEOPLE ARE GOING TO TAKE MY DAUGHTERS SERIOUSLY TOO.'

VIEWPOINT

WE ARE NOT TOGETHER

Everyone must work to heal America's epidemic of loss and loneliness

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.



TAMIR KALIFA—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

AMERICANS HAVE VOTED and, with overwhelming numbers, declared they have had enough of Donald Trump and his political circus. One feels a sense of relief, but victories are rarely complete and total. Millions of Americans believe Joe Biden's election represents the end of the country as we know it. They brace themselves for a socialist takeover and an assault on their liberties. The ugliness of the defeated, and that ugliness was never theirs alone, remains. We have to navigate what has been left behind, walk among the dry bones and muster the courage to respond to it all.

Biden will have to confront what Trump refused to face: that our way of life is broken. Americans are disaffected, distrustful and full of disdain. This state of affairs, in part, is the result of generations of toxic political waste dumped into the Republic by politicians and political parties seeking to exploit our fears and grievances for their own political gain. But what we face today cuts much deeper than hyperpartisanship.

From the beginning, Americans have imagined a way of being together as a country that takes for granted a kind of selfishness that masquerades as liberty and freedom. We have been willing to allow the belief in widespread prosperity to compromise our commitment to democracy, and we have allowed white supremacy to wrap itself around the basic tenets of our way of life. Each has grown and flourished as we have sought comfort in material possessions and illusions that allow us to take flight from the empty aspects of our lives. Even in those moments of crisis that called for national sacrifice and, sometimes, a reimagining of who we are as a nation, we responded with courage and commitment, but we also cleaved to these ideas that warp how we live together. It was only a matter of time—and time can be a fickle thing—that we would end up right where we are now: in a place where it seems that too many have given up their stake in American life for their own selfish ends.

BEYOND THE HARD politics and the public-health crisis surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic, Biden and his team will have to grapple with the reality of death, loneliness and selfishness, which have so shaped the last years of the Trump Administration. By the time Biden takes office, some project that more than 400,000 Americans will have died of COVID-19. Many will have died alone. With the virus, death has shown us our disunion.

The new Biden Administration must understand that we have to figure out how to be together differently after the horror of COVID-19 and the madness of Trumpism. Biden will have to make amends with our dead, or they will haunt this nation. He will have to make, as we all will have to, something meaningful of this scale of loss, or it will run this nation into the ground.

This will not be easy, because we also suffer from a kind of loneliness that can get in the way of shared suffering. We are stuck in our homes, and our pains and joys are hidden behind masks. The fabric of community has already worn thin.

This is the America that Biden inherits: a country where the background conditions for a vibrant democratic life have collapsed. This election should be seen as a source of hope. But I pray that we do not trade one fantasy for another: that Trump's defeat somehow affirms our inherent goodness and puts a grateful Republic back to sleep. We can't keep lying to ourselves. We have too much work to do, and it begins with our dead—and us.

Glaude, a professor at Princeton University, is the author of Begin Again: James Baldwin's America and Its Urgent Lessons for Our Own



Plastic flags outside the home of artist Shane Reilly represent Texas residents who died from COVID-19

VIEWPOINT

The return of empathy

As a country, we're ready for leaders who listen

BY STEPHANIE LAND

WHEN RESULTS FIRST began to trickle in on Election Day, I'd already been reliving several days' worth of PTSD from what I'd experienced in 2016. I was still a single parent then, with two young girls safely asleep in the 660-sq.-ft. apartment we had in low-income housing. But as votes were tallied that night, the world around us began to feel less safe.

This election started to feel too familiar, as the earliest reported votes initially turned states red. I started to feel that same disappointment, sadness and fear, and my thoughts went to the single parents who had to go through these hours alone.

My surroundings were different this year. I had a husband sitting next to me in a house I owned. I had someone to hug and offer comfort. I could take time off work the next day, and maybe the day after that. But I couldn't stop thinking about those who couldn't. The ones who were already stretched thin, trying to make ends meet while they struggled to feed themselves and their children.

I know that life too well. I not only lived it for most of a decade, I wrote a book about it, so I have also been telling that story all over the country for the last two and a half years. Standing in front of those audiences, I want to describe how it felt to work as much as possible to afford a small, moldy room. I want to describe that in such detail they feel the anguish of never having enough food, soap, childcare or medicine. How isolating the experience was and how invisible I felt.

Public speaking is not something my mind and body do easily. I sweat profusely. My voice sometimes cracks. I wake up in the middle of the night obsessing over what I said and if it sounded weird. Sometimes I have full-blown anxiety attacks. But I rarely turn down an opportunity to share my story. Somewhere in that audience is a person who has gone through something similar who now hears, "I know, I've been there too."

I never heard this during my hardest times. Nobody looked me in the eye and said, "What you're going through is incredibly hard, and it's not your fault." I'm not sure why. Maybe they couldn't comprehend what my life was like as a mom of a 3-year-old who worked as a house cleaner to put herself through college. But I never really felt like they tried to understand.

To me, the only way we'll see a change in this nation is by listening to people who have experienced life in the margins, who have lived less privileged versions of my story, in systemic poverty and facing structural racism. If we can somehow start to remove shame from struggle, if we can care for people as our fellow human beings, we'll start to see how many of us are fighting in our own way.

WE MUST SOMEHOW START TO REMOVE SHAME FROM STRUGGLE

AS A COUNTRY in crisis, we desperately need that compassion. We need leaders who are able to remember how it feels to experience hardship, trauma and pain, who make us feel less alone. For four years, we've been bullied by an Administration that lacks any semblance of compassion. Our new President and Vice President won't be able to repair everything that's been broken, but Joe Biden and Kamala Harris will not only see us, they will listen to our stories. They will bring back the dignity in simply being human.

Land is the author of Maid: Hard Work, Low Pay, and a Mother's Will to Survive

BIDEN'S COVID-19 CHALLENGE

How will he get the U.S. pandemic response back on track?

BY JAMIE DUCHARME AND ALICE PARK



"IF THE PUBLIC-HEALTH PROFESSIONALS, IF DR. [Anthony] Fauci, if doctors tell us we should take it, I would be first in line. If Donald Trump tells us we should take it, then I'm not taking it."

That was Vice President–elect Kamala Harris' response when asked by the moderator of an Oct. 7 debate whether she would get vaccinated against COVID-19. It perfectly captured the politicization of the U.S. response to COVID-19 under the outgoing Trump Administration—and how dangerous that red and blue tinting of the pandemic response has been for the American public. Behaviors like wearing masks and social distancing, which should be about protecting public health, have turned into loaded statements of party affiliation and were twisted into campaign strategy, no doubt contributing to the high death toll from the disease and a worrying erosion in people's confidence in the science that ultimately is the only way out of the pandemic. Joe Biden's public-health team now faces a two-pronged challenge: confronting a still mysterious virus that shows no signs of waning, and convincing the American public that parts of the pandemic response that began under the Trump Administration—particularly vaccine development—remain untainted by political influence.

Biden and Harris have already begun to tackle that task; on Nov. 9, they announced the creation of their COVID-19 advisory board, made up of prominent public-health experts, former government officials and academics who will advise the new Administration about their best options for controlling the pandemic. As President, Biden can appoint new heads of the government's major health agencies, including the Secretary of Health and Human Services; the director of the National Institutes of Health; the commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA); and the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Public-health experts have been critical of the lack of strong scientific guidance from these agencies over the past year, and the extent to which they appear to be influenced by the White House. Changing the leadership would be a signal that the Biden Administration will prioritize science and scientific integrity, and help to restore the public's confidence in its pandemic response.

But replacing leadership could also backfire if the ultimate goal is to generate respect for science and scientists, since many, despite pressure from the Trump Administration, managed to stand their ground and not allow political pressure to compromise scientific principles. During his time as President, Trump repeatedly manipulated the public-health response to meet his own political needs: he admitted in a recorded March interview to intentionally "playing [the pandemic] down" so as not to "create a panic"; touted unproven treatments to give the public a false sense of security; opposed an FDA criterion for ensuring that COVID-19 vaccines are safe; and even pushed vaccine makers to rush the clinical-testing process so people could potentially be immunized before the election.

Leading public-health experts, most notably Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases and a member of the White House Coronavirus Task Force, took every opportunity to set the record straight when statements from the White House contradicted the scientific facts. And the FDA, with support from the pharmaceutical industry, prevailed in not shortchanging the



President-elect Biden and Vice President–elect Harris hold a virtual meeting with their COVID-19 advisory council on Nov. 9

CAROLYN KASTER—AP

rigorous scientific-review process by preserving a requirement that all volunteers in the vaccine studies be followed for two months for any safety concerns. If Biden does choose to replace the leaders of any of the federal government's health agencies, it could signal to the public that government-employed scientists, and the research and policies they oversee, are tainted by politics, and would only further compromise any of their public-health advice, including getting immunized if and when vaccines are available. Indeed, the paramount concern for Biden will be reversing the damage done by his predecessor's assaults on science, which have led Americans—both Democratic and Republican—to worry that politics has driven COVID-19 vaccine development. Just weeks before Pfizer's Nov. 9 announcement that its vaccine was 90% effective in reducing COVID-19 illness, an Oct. 12 Gallup poll reported that only half of respondents said they would get vaccinated if a free FDA-approved vaccine were available immediately.

That's a "nightmare scenario," says Dr. Howard Koh, a professor at Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health and former Assistant Secretary for Health and Human Services during the Obama Administration. The government funded the development and manufacturing, and has purchased millions of doses, of six vaccine candidates in its Operation Warp Speed (OWS) program. (Pfizer funded development of its own vaccine.) But even the most effective vaccine does no good sitting on a shelf.

A BIDEN CAMPAIGN ADVISER authorized to speak with TIME only if not quoted by name says Biden's goal is "ensuring the safety and efficacy of the vaccine and ensuring there's no politicization of that process." But the campaign adviser also stood by comments like the one Harris made during the debate, when she said she would not take a vaccine recommended by Trump. "It's Trump who has let us down, it is Trump who has lied to us, and I think it's really important that that be called out" because it shows "we are watching," the campaign adviser said.

By all accounts, the FDA, which will ultimately decide whether to authorize the handful of vaccine candidates currently in trials, has prevailed in deflecting the Trump Administration's attempts to shortcut the review process. Each vaccine trial looking at safety and effectiveness was carefully designed and reviewed by both government and independent health experts and likely won't change once Biden is in office. That said, the Biden team "is going to have to figure out what parts of OWS it keeps, and what parts it does not," says Dr. Tom Frieden, former director of the CDC and current president and CEO of Resolve to Save Lives, a U.S.-based global public-health nonprofit. So far, OWS has supported the development and manufacturing of the vaccines, and it plans to help distribute the doses once they are ready.

The new Administration may also need to address the fact that local health departments are struggling to keep up with the demand for testing, contact tracing and COVID-19 care coordination from their local clinics, hospitals and citizens. Because the Trump Administration didn't prioritize a national pandemic strategy—including, for example, mandating mask wearing in public or prohibiting mass gatherings—state health officials say they have been left with the task of figuring out not only what policies to support but how to communicate them to a confused public. "We never had a united plan for the United States," says Koh. "The 50 states have been going in 50 different directions. To continue doing what we are doing now will only prolong the pandemic unnecessarily and cause more unnecessary suffering." A more coordinated national plan will be essential for a successful vaccination program, since "vaccines don't stop infections, vaccination programs do," says Frieden. "We need a comprehensive vaccination program, and we're falling behind. We're not doing what we need to do to create strong vaccination programs."

The CDC is working with state and local health departments, but those officials around the country

say much is confusing and still in flux. The 64 public-health jurisdictions, made up mostly of state health departments that the CDC is funding for the vaccine program, submitted proposals in August for how many doses they would need and how those would be allocated. The CDC reviewed those plans and returned them at the end of October. But there are still uncertainties. For example, says Kris Ehresmann, director of infectious-disease epidemiology at the Minnesota Department of Health, the federal government says it will distribute vaccines to both the state health department and to groups such as the Indian Health Service, and it's not clear which tribal groups will be receiving doses through the Indian Health Service and which will be the responsibility of the state.

One thing that has aided states in their planning so far is the fact that, by and large, scientists involved in the vaccine program—both in the government and at pharmaceutical manufacturers—have united in an unprecedented show of support for established scientific criteria for evaluating vaccine candidates. But it won't be easy for the Biden Administration to persuade the public to get vaccinated. "I've heard from people all over the country who say they won't get 'the Trump vaccine.' But it should not be 'the Biden vaccine,' either," says Frieden. "The point is that it's the COVID vaccine—it's not a political vaccine."

Vaccine researchers, including leading government scientists, maintain that the speed hasn't involved shortcuts in the science, but instead reflects, in part, improved technology behind some of the vaccines, as well as more efficient review of data given the urgency of the pandemic. "The Biden Administration can relieve much of the public's anxiety about the speed of development by making it clear that they are not going to sacrifice safety for speed," says Dr. Kelly Moore, associate director for immunization education at the Immunization Action Coalition.

THE BEST WAY to accomplish that would be to give scientists back their voice on the pandemic stage. Research shows people widely trust scientists and public-health groups—even after the beating they've taken this year. In August, researchers from the COVID-19 Consortium for Understanding the Public's Policy Preferences Across States asked more than 21,000 U.S. adults which people or institutions they trust to handle the COVID-19 crisis. The top answers, in order, were doctors and hospitals; scientists and researchers; the CDC; and Fauci. These should be the voices the Biden Administration calls upon to communicate with the public, experts say.

"There should be a briefing at least several times a week if not every day until the crisis is over, led by top scientists," says Koh. Seeing scientific experts share what they know and don't know, and explain why they are recommending certain policies and advice, would go a long way toward alleviating the anxiety caused by current conflicting messages. "The real power that a President has is the bully pulpit," says Dr. Eric Toner, a senior scholar at the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security. "They should really have a communication campaign that looks like a political campaign. They should be flooding social media and the airwaves with public-health messages." He also suggests relying on trusted scientific figures—as well as celebrities, religious leaders and other community figures people trust—to do it. When it comes to the vaccines, that might include having Biden and Harris get immunized—in public view—to demonstrate both their trust in the scientific process and their belief in the importance of the vaccines in controlling the pandemic. "Our leaders would set a good example by getting vaccinated," says Ehresmann. "They should be the first in line to give people the confidence that the vaccine is safe to take."

Before the election, the Biden campaign outlined seven pillars of its COVID-19 response, including expanding access to testing and personal protective equipment, investing $25 billion in vaccine distribution, encouraging universal masking, and protecting vulnerable groups like the elderly and people of color. But it didn't provide the details needed to reassure state health officials who are now preparing to order and distribute doses of vaccines. "They should focus on the basics of communication during an emergency," says Frieden. "Be first, be right, and be credible. Tell what you know, tell what you don't know, and tell what you are going to find out. Don't overpromise … If you do those things, you can trust people to do the right thing." That includes helping people trust the science behind vaccines and understand that an inoculation alone won't make them completely immune. No vaccine is 100% effective, and whatever protection vaccines may provide, people should continue to wear masks, maintain social distancing and avoid crowded indoor gatherings until health officials determine the virus is under control.

'IT SHOULD NOT BE "THE BIDEN VACCINE," EITHER.'

—Tom Frieden, former CDC director

In their plan, Biden and Harris promise to "listen to science" and to "restore trust, transparency, common purpose and accountability to our government"—but here, too, experts say the plan doesn't go into enough depth about how that trust will be won. After months of misinformation and partisan interference in public health, communication may be Biden's biggest challenge. And the stakes are high: those will be critical promises to keep if we have any hope of containing a virus that doesn't respect national borders or political parties. ◻

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A medic from Houston's fire department gives a patient oxygen before taking him to the hospital on Aug. 14

THE LIMITS OF 'BIDENCARE'

A new Administration hopes to strengthen the Affordable Care Act

BY ABIGAIL ABRAMS

DEMOCRATS HAD HIGH HOPES FOR HEALTH CARE. After winning big on the issue in the 2018 midterms, Democrats swaggered into 2020 convinced they had a mandate to transform the industry. The only question was how best to do it. In the Democratic primary, Joe Biden's plan to add a government-run "public option" for health insurance to the Affordable Care Act (ACA) emerged as the moderate alternative to the left's dream of Medicare for All.

But the party's big plans may already be in jeopardy. One problem is the challenge of a divided Senate. Even if Democrats win the January runoff for both Georgia Senate seats, the chamber will likely be split 50-50. This would give Vice President–elect Kamala Harris the tie-breaking vote, but Biden would still need to negotiate with moderate members of his own caucus to pass ambitious reforms. Another problem is the U.S. Supreme Court, now populated with three Trump-appointed Justices, which heard the latest constitutional challenge to the ACA on Nov. 10. If the court strikes down the law next year, the decision could throw more than 20 million off their insurance and put the Biden Administration in the unenviable position of attempting to pass a new health care law from scratch.

So that's the bad news. But Democrats also have reason to be hopeful, experts say. One reason, counterintuitively, may be the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, which has killed roughly 240,000 Americans and laid waste to tens of millions of jobs. In doing so, it has efficiently, if morbidly, illustrated the long-standing progressive argument for why access to health care should not be tied to employment. An estimated 12 million people lost health insurance through their employer or that of a family member this year when those jobs disappeared, and the roughly 30 million more Americans who already lacked coverage worried about what would become of their finances if they caught the virus and had to be hospitalized. Jacob Hacker, a political scientist at Yale University says that "people are much more receptive toward significant reforms" during major crises.

Biden must act quickly, says Daniel Dawes, a health care lawyer who worked with the Obama Administration to develop the ACA. "If they wait too long," he warns, "they lose that honeymoon period." In a speech on Nov. 10, President-elect Biden appeared to be laying the groundwork for bipartisan cooperation to fix the ACA. "This doesn't need to be a partisan issue. It's a human issue," he said. "It affects every single American family."

Other improvements may not require big fights in Congress, experts say. Some think Biden could use emergency powers to temporarily boost subsidies to help families afford marketplace plans. Democrats could also focus on issues with bipartisan appeal, like lowering prescription-drug prices or outlawing the practice of "surprise" medical billing, which is when patients are unexpectedly charged for out-of-network care.

THEN THERE ARE STEPS that a President Biden could take without wrangling Congress, by using Executive powers. He could reopen ACA enrollment and restore the federal funding to help families sign up for coverage that President Trump slashed. He could roll back Trump's expansion of skimpy health insurance plans that don't comply with the ACA, rescind Trump's restrictions on access to birth control and eliminate the "public charge" rule that deterred immigrants from accessing benefits.

Dr. Kavita Patel, a Brookings Institution fellow who worked on health reform in the Obama Administration, says Biden could also ease access to Medicaid and use federal money to incentivize the 12 states that have not yet expanded Medicaid to do so. The offer may be particularly enticing during the pandemic, as many states face large budget shortfalls. Dawes, who has advised Biden on combatting racism in health care, says he expects the new Administration to improve data collection on how COVID-19 and other health issues affect minority populations and to address maternal mortality, a top focus for Harris. Such improvements may not usher in the fundamental transformation of the U.S. health care system that Democrats have yearned for. But it's a start. ☐

JOHN MOORE—GETTY IMAGES

ANALYSIS

A question of money

Biden's ambitious plans to remake the economy must pass a divided Congress

BY ABBY VESOULIS

FOR JOE BIDEN, IT'S ECONOMIC CRISIS, VERsion 2.0. The last time he came to work at the White House, amid the Great Recession, the new Vice President spearheaded the Obama Administration's $787 billion stimulus package, which some Democrats criticized as insufficient. Fast-forward a decade and President-elect Biden is again responsible for steering the country out of a downturn—only this time, experts and advisers say, the vision is much more ambitious. Even excluding COVID-19 relief, his campaign-trail promises would increase national debt by roughly $5.6 trillion, according to the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

There's just one problem: Congress. Even if Democrats win both Georgia Senate seats in a January runoff, the Senate would still likely be split 50-50; if they lose, they'll face a Republican majority. Either way, the likelihood of Biden's successfully pushing through a wide-reaching stimulus early next year is now slim, says Mark Zandi, the chief economist of Moody's Analytics. But, he adds, there's still hope for a $1 trillion-to-$1.5 trillion economic recovery bill—and no matter the dollar figure, Biden's vision would represent a major shift in strategy.

Take COVID-19 relief. While President Trump signed a series of bills amounting to roughly $3 trillion in federal spending, those efforts revised the tax code in such a way that the largest corporations and the richest Americans ended up as the biggest beneficiaries. From March 18 to Oct. 13, the wealth of 644 U.S. billionaires jumped from nearly $3 trillion to $4 trillion—a 32% increase—according to two progressive groups, Americans for Tax Fairness and the Institute for Policy Studies. Biden, in contrast, has promised an economic agenda that focuses more narrowly on public investment. For example, the President-elect has proposed creating a "Public Health Jobs Corps" that would employ roughly 100,000 people to assist with COVID-19 contact tracing nationwide.

That idea is emblematic of Biden's approach. He has also championed a $775 billion program underwriting the cost of childcare and eldercare for American families and backs a $2 trillion infrastructure plan that would overhaul U.S. roads, bridges, trains and broadband systems while creating millions of jobs. The Biden Administration is also expected to push Congress to extend the $600 in expanded unemployment that expired at the end of July and to back an influx of federal cash to state and local governments, which have been forced by the economic collapse to slash programs benefiting American families, experts say. Colorado, for example, has increased Medicaid co-pays; California reduced firefighter pay by 7.5%; and Georgia slashed K-12 public school budgets by nearly $1 billion. Data suggests that Congress's failure in 2008 to sufficiently bolster state governments delayed the economic recovery by four years, says Heidi Shierholz, a senior economist at the left-leaning Economic Policy Institute and a former Labor Department economist.

In her capacity as the head of the Roosevelt Institute, a progressive think tank, Felicia Wong compares Biden's vision to FDR's New Deal. "We haven't seen that commitment to public investment in new kinds of industries, new kinds of economic sectors and job creation since Roosevelt," says Wong, who also serves as an adviser on Biden's transition board.

'WE HAVEN'T SEEN THAT COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC INVESTMENT SINCE FDR.'

—Felicia Wong,
Roosevelt Institute

UNSURPRISINGLY, THAT KIND of large federal outlay makes some Republicans nervous. That money has to come out of somebody's taxes, says Veronique de Rugy of George Mason University. And if the answer is taxing big businesses, it may hurt the little guy too. "A big chunk of the burden of the corporate income tax is shouldered by workers in the form of lower wages," she says.

But even without GOP support in the Senate, Biden can move the needle on his own. He could, for instance, reintroduce a version of Trump's eviction moratorium, which is set to expire in December, threatening to leave millions of Americans homeless in the dead of winter. Some Democrats, including Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer and Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren, are also lobbying Biden to use the powers they say are vested in the Higher Education Act to forgive up to $50,000 in student debt per person.

It's unlikely, of course, that any big moves will happen on day one. Legislation, negotiation and reconciliation take time. But Zandi, the Moody's economist, says he's optimistic that Senate Republicans will be willing to play ball next year on at least some stimulus spending, if only because the current economic conditions—high unemployment, low inflation and near zero interest rates—are right. What Biden will be able to do when he comes to the plate remains to be seen. ☐

TAKING CLIMATE SERIOUSLY

The global crisis will be central to the new Administration's agenda

BY JUSTIN WORLAND

THIS YEAR'S STRING OF CLIMATE CATASTROPHES is hard to miss. During the 2020 presidential campaign, more named tropical storms made landfall in one U.S. hurricane season than ever before. For the first time this century, a single wildfire burned more than 1 million acres in the lower 48 states. By September, the country had tied the record for the most billion-dollar weather and climate disasters in one year, with four months still to go before 2021.

As the U.S. burned and flooded, Joe Biden leaned into climate change more than any other general-election presidential contender in U.S. history. Now, even as he faces the possibility of a divided Congress, Biden is expected to place cutting emissions close to the center of his presidency, incorporating the aim into policy decisions across his Administration. "It's what we do in housing, what we do in transportation, what we do in the State Department, what we do in the Commerce Department, what we do in the Justice Department," says Tom Steyer, the billionaire environmentalist who joined the Biden campaign to help craft climate policy after dropping out of the presidential primary. In all, Biden's climate policy will not just dictate the future of U.S. emissions but will also shape the 21st century geopolitical and economic landscape and help determine whether the world can stave off the worst effects of catastrophic climate change.

Biden has labeled climate change one of four urgent crises, along with the COVID-19 pandemic, the economic collapse and racial justice. Those issues were the only four listed on the Biden transition website in the hours after the election was called in his favor. By using the nation's emission-reduction program as a means to address each of those challenges, the future Biden Administration is poised to place climate change at the center of U.S. politics.

BIDEN'S CAMPAIGN PLAN called for creating 1 million new jobs in the auto industry and electric-vehicle supply chain; spending billions on clean-energy research and development; and supporting farmers who rethink their practices. "It's not just an environmental plan or a climate plan," says William K. Reilly, George H.W. Bush's Environmental Protection Agency head. "It is very significantly connected to an industrialization and economic-development plan, an infrastructure plan created as a result of a new energy economy."

Of course, high-octane campaign plans are usually watered down or thrown aside when their champions hit political reality. The Biden Administration will face a particular challenge in the next Senate, where Democrats will have at best a slim majority.

Analysts nonetheless believe a massive stimulus bill, on the docket for early next year, may offer an early chance to get climate priorities through Congress. Stimulus measures can attract lawmakers with funds for states and districts, and many Republicans, who might otherwise vote against a new regulatory program, may support spending to buttress the economy. Some hope the stimulus can serve as a Trojan horse allowing the passage of climate provisions, portrayed as generous economic measures to garner GOP support.

Beyond stimulus spending, policy experts expect the new Administration to implement its climate agenda through federal agencies. On the campaign trail, Biden called for the U.S. electric grid to be carbon-free by 2035, and to eliminate the nation's entire carbon footprint by 2050, affecting everything from airplanes to cement. A range of policies would support those targets, including restoration of the 100-plus climate and environmental regulations the Trump Administration has undone on everything from vehicle-emission standards to methane emissions. Biden may also use the massive federal budget to advance production of low-emission vehicles by requiring the purchase of green cars and trucks for government use. In addition, he could require major companies to disclose climate risk in accounting and other business practices, incentivizing corporate climate responsibility.

All that may require sustained political support. The Biden Administration can rely on an alliance of climate activists, organized labor and racial-justice advocates to help push its climate agenda, a remarkable change from just four years ago, when progressive groups criticized President Barack Obama for not going far enough, fast enough. Climate advocates hope that Biden's work with these groups during the campaign will generate momentum and create pressure on politicians in Washington to act. "Biden reflects the change of politics, and the change of politics came from not just one organization but a whole movement of people," says Tamara Toles O'Laughlin, North America director at the climate group 350.org.

Biden's domestic climate agenda will have global impact. The President-elect has promised to rejoin the Paris Agreement immediately upon taking



Residents of the Oakmont Gardens senior home in Santa Rosa, Calif., evacuate on a bus as the Shady Fire approaches on Sept. 28

NOAH BERGER—AP

office—on Nov. 4, President Trump officially left the 2015 emission-reducing pact that nearly 200 countries have agreed to follow. While rejoining the deal requires little more than a signature, restoring U.S. leadership on global climate efforts will take more work. As Trump denied and deflected on climate over the past four years, the rest of the world pushed ahead. The E.U. committed to eliminating its carbon footprint by 2050, planning to spend €1 trillion to reorient its economy with climate change at its center. China has integrated the issue into industrial planning, saying it will be carbon-neutral by 2060. "The world has moved on," says Helen Mountford, vice president for climate and economics at the World Resources Institute. "A lot of other countries have stepped up into leadership roles."

Ahead of the talks that led to the Paris Agreement, the U.S. launched a diplomatic blitz to convince the world that its domestic climate rules would endure under any future President. Trump broke that promise, and the rest of the world will likely look at new American assurances with skepticism. If the Biden Administration succeeds in restoring U.S. climate credentials, it could help catalyze a global shift away from fossil fuels, using U.S. wealth and influence to persuade developing economies to follow its lead, and creating space for collaboration with China amid otherwise hostile relations.

FROM A SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVE, the new Administration's commitment to addressing the climate crisis comes in the nick of time. In recent years, scientists have warned that the world is dangerously close to losing any chance of keeping global warming to no more than 1.5°C—a level that would lead to catastrophic effects. With that in mind, leading economists and climate activists have called for the world to use the coronavirus public-health and economic crisis to pivot the global economy to take on the looming climate crisis. They argue that the trillions of stimulus dollars countries are spending should support clean energy and green infrastructure.

Results have been lacking: some leaders have propped up the old way of doing things, giving fossil-fuel companies bailouts. But this moment of crisis has produced encouraging signs that lasting change may be afoot. Some countries have set timelines to phase out coal mining, linked airline bailouts to reducing emissions and allowed fossil-fuel companies to go bankrupt. Seven of the world's 10 largest economies have adopted the goal of eliminating carbon emissions by the middle of the century. If all goes according to plan, it will soon be eight. ◻

ESSAY

RECOVERY ACT

Biden's challenge is immense, but America has been here before

BY JON MEACHAM



AS THE SHADOWS LENGTHENED, FRANKLIN ROOsevelt's mind returned to the beginning. At his fourth Inaugural, held on Saturday, Jan. 20, 1945—the President had less than three months to live—FDR recalled the words of his old prep school headmaster, Endicott Peabody, who often remarked, "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights—then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward." Or so FDR and generations of Americans have hoped.

One of those forward-looking Americans is now the President-elect of the United States. The task awaiting Joe Biden in Washington is immense; arguably, he faces the most crises to confront a single President since FDR took office in 1933. There is the pandemic, the attendant economic and cultural damage, enduring racial tension, a changing climate, a riven electorate and diminished faith in institutions to respond to any of it. Can Biden pull enough of us together to address at least a few of these issues at a time of sulfurous partisanship?

History is helpful here. Division is, in fact, more the rule than the exception in American life. North vs. South; industrial vs. agrarian; isolationist vs. internationalist; religious vs. secular—we're a big, complicated, disputatious country. And close elections are common. Biden comes to office with a larger popular-vote percentage than Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon in 1968, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush in 2000 and Donald Trump. The margin is in line with Ronald Reagan's in 1980, George W. Bush's in 2004 and Barack Obama's in 2012.

The Biden win, then, is fully within the mainstream of presidential victories in the post–World War II era. The difference is that in addition to facing a particularly partisan nation, Biden has a predecessor determined to delegitimize the election itself. And so temperament, which is always vital, is perhaps even more important to the success of the approaching presidency.

MY VIEWS ON PRESIDENT-ELECT BIDEN are no secret. I am a friend of his; he and I have long been in conversation about history and what the American past can tell us about the American future. In March, I endorsed him for President in print, and I spoke at the Democratic National Convention this year. And as a historian and professor, I helped contribute to a few of his major speeches about "the soul of America," which was the title of a book I published in 2018. My view is that studying and commenting on history and historical events doesn't mean you're removed from them.

From my time with Biden, I can tell you this: by experience and by disposition, the President-elect is hardly a polarizing figure. His decades in the Senate and his eight years as Vice President have given him the political virtues of empathy (of seeing why the other side feels the way it does) and of pragmatism (of trying to give the other side a face-saving way to compromise).

That empathetic pragmatism—or pragmatic empathy, take your pick—might be the greatest attribute he will bring to the Oval Office. It may not be enough to pass needed legislation or to calm the partisan storms, but Biden doesn't need to be perfect to do good. And that too is a lesson of history.

Even great Presidents get a lot wrong—but they also get just enough right that we look back at them with respect. The work of Biden's time, then, is this: not a nostalgic return to a sepia-toned newsreel of past glories but a recovery of respect for the



The sun sets over the Washington Monument on Nov. 7, the night Biden addressed the nation as President-elect

presidency by the people, and of the people by the President. And a mutual recovery of respect for reason over passion.

The FDR example is illuminating. Afflicted with the polio virus in 1921, Roosevelt courageously forced himself back into the arena. By the time he sought the presidency in 1932, much of what was familiar about America was in jeopardy. Testifying before Congress in 1930, the radio priest Father Charles Coughlin said, "I think by 1933, unless something is done, you will see a revolution in this country." Writing of the unemployed in these years, the historian William Manchester observed, "Although millions were trapped in a great tragedy for which there could plainly be no individual responsibility, social workers repeatedly observed that the jobless were suffering from feelings of guilt. 'I haven't had a steady job in more than two years,' a man facing eviction told a New York *Daily News* reporter in February 1932. 'Sometimes I feel like a murderer. What's wrong with me, that I can't protect my children?'"

FDR brought his own hard-won sense of empathy and resilience to the White House, as well as a political sensibility best described as agile. He was "a juggler," he once remarked, never letting his left hand know what his right hand was doing. He articulated a governing vision, meanwhile, with much to recommend it: "Say that civilization is a tree which, as it grows, continually produces rot and dead wood," Roosevelt said. "The radical says: 'Cut it down.' The conservative says: 'Don't touch it.' The liberal compromises: 'Let's prune, so that we lose neither the old trunk nor the new branches.' This campaign is waged to teach the country to march upon its appointed course, the way of change, in an orderly march, avoiding alike the revolution of radicalism and the revolution of conservatism."

THIS IS LIKELY to be the way of Biden too, as the 46th President maneuvers between an entrenched right and an impatient left. Biden's personal tragedies are well known: the loss of his wife and daughter in 1972; his brain aneurysms; the death of his son Beau in 2015. A man tempered by loss is well equipped to lead—and perhaps to help heal—a nation experiencing widespread pain. If he can manage that, Biden could offer fresh evidence in support of Emerson's adage that "there is properly no history; only biography."

Threats abound, of course. Diminishing economic opportunity, continuing racial injustices and the ebb and flow of nativism and isolationism will challenge the next President day in and day out. But Biden's life experience gives him a particular appreciation for the role of generosity and calm amid the storms. From his Roman Catholic ethos, he sees life as a covenant, and he will try to at once preach and embody the idea—which the Episcopalian FDR also did—that the country and the world is a neighborhood, not a war-torn wilderness.

Much of the fate of the next four years will be as much on us as on him. The constitutional order depends on the character of the leaders and of the led. It depends too on enough of us believing in the experiment in liberty enough that we're willing to sacrifice some of our interests in order to maintain an arena in which all of our interests can contend for temporary dominion.

Our best Presidents—and best eras—weren't any more perfect than we are. Amid competing demands, they gave common sense and reason a chance. They knew history would judge them harshly if they betrayed the institutions they'd inherited. They cared what we thought—they cared what we'd say of them. I think Joe Biden cares about that too. That's good news for the rest of us.

Meacham is a Pulitzer Prize–winning writer and historian

LORENZO MELONI—MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR TIME

CHINA WATCH
PRESENTED BY CHINA DAILY 中国日報

A concerted effort is being put into identifying new ways of safeguarding the country's natural resources



From on high, national beauty shines ever brighter in parks

BY YANG WANLI

As work challenges go, they don't come much more challenging or headier than this. Even if the high-altitude workplace did not put you off applying for the job, you'd also need to: be in tip-top health and indeed extremely physically fit; like nature; know how to ride a motorcycle or drive a car; know how to cook in the wild and use handheld infrared cameras; and be fluent in both Mandarin and Tibetan.

Your reward as an environmental conservationist in the Three-River-Source National Park on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, at an average of 4,000 meters (13,120 ft.) above sea level: knowing that you are playing a key role in helping protect flora and fauna, including many endangered animal species.



One member of that team is Wen Xiao, 49. In 2000 he was one of eight residents of Gangdang, a village in Qumarleb county, Qinghai province, who volunteered to become grassland patrollers.

"We worked for years without payment," Wen said. "At the very beginning, we simply aimed to safeguard the pasture that herders had lived on for generations. Illegal hunting and excessive herb gathering were rampant back then."

Gangdang is renowned for caterpillar fungus, which in China is only found on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau.

In 2016 the Three-River-Source National Park became the first of the country's 10 pilot national parks after the central government decided to protect its ecosystem. As natives of Gangdang, in Northwest China and within the park's boundary, Wen and his team became environmental conservationists a year later.

The park, which is home to the source of three major rivers, the Yangtze, the Yellow and the Lancang, covers 123,100 square kilometers (30.42 million acres), about 14 times the area of Yellowstone National Park, which covers parts of Wyoming, Montana and Idaho, and 19 times larger than Banff National Park in Alberta, Canada.

A few months before Wen officially started work as a conservationist, he received training from experts in grassland ecology, the environment and wild animals. They had been invited by the local forestry department to provide assistance.

"Thanks to the training, we were aware of the importance of environmental protection," he said. "Not only the pasture, but also the water and wildlife. This is a meaningful mission that will benefit not only our generation but our descendants, too.

"I didn't have a clear idea of how important our efforts would be until 2016, when an expert who trained us told me that many wild animals and plants were not included in official records in my hometown, but they should be known by more people around the world. From that moment I knew we would be making history."

As a result, he decided to write a patrol diary. In his entries for early May Wen recorded the appearance of a snow leopard and her cub that he came across near a snow-capped mountain in the park.

To collect more information about the endangered high-plateau species, of which there are 2,000 to 2,500 in China, Wen camped nearby and spent two weeks taking photos of the animals and noting their daily activities.

"The shortest distance between us was less than 200 meters (650 ft.); the mother stared at me for more than 10 seconds. I took it as a warning. I stayed still with my heart beating rapidly, and my breathing stopped for a while until she went back to her cub and started to nurse it," he said.

Unlike most national parks overseas which are located in isolated regions, some of China's national parks are home to tens of thousands of people, said Tang Xiaoping, deputy director of the National Parks Management Office at the National Forestry and Grassland Administration. "Thus, China's national park management system aims to protect not only ecosystems, but also the residents' traditional lives. Ultimately, protection of nature is aimed at a better future for human beings."

In 2013 the central government announced the creation of a national park system with the aim of establishing a series of facilities and building a unified management system by this year.

China Watch materials are distributed by China Daily Distribution Corp., on behalf of China Daily, Beijing, China.

LEFT
Buildings surrounded by trees in Hainan Tropical Rainforest National Park, Hainan province.
PU XIAOXU / XINHUA

BOTTOM LEFT
Conservationists at the Three-River-Source National Park, Qinghai province, eat a meal during a patrol.
YANG WANLI / CHINA DAILY

BELOW
The Tibetan antelope is among the endangered species on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau.
PROVIDED TO CHINA DAILY

Two years later construction was approved for 10 pilot national parks covering more than 220,000 sq km, about 2.2% of the country's territory, to further explore unified management of all facilities. In the parks the strongest protection is within "red line" zones, a key government strategy that places designated areas under mandatory State protection.

In the Northeast China Tiger and Leopard National Park, which straddles Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces, the numbers of Siberian tigers and Amur leopards, both designated critically endangered in the Red List of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, have risen. Ten tiger cubs and seven leopard cubs have been born since the park was listed in 2016.

The construction of the Giant Panda National Park, which covers parts of Sichuan, Shaanxi and Gansu provinces, has provided further protection for a number of endangered species, including the crested ibis, also known as "the oriental gem".

In the 1980s the IUCN's red list designated the bird as critically endangered because just seven remained. About 4,400 of the birds now live in the Giant Panda National Park, and their habitat has grown from 5 sq km in the 1980s to 15,000 sq km.

Earlier this year the Hainan Tropical Rainforest National Park in Hainan province, home to China's largest rainforest and Hainan gibbons, a critically endangered species on the IUCN red list, established a research institute.

"We are calling for collaboration with experts worldwide on the management of the park as well as wildlife protection," said Xia Fei, director of the park's management office. "The world's top primatologists are especially welcome."



Hard at work in quiet think tank

BY WANG YIQING

A placid, cozy environment fostering focused thinking and unwavering concentration on books is what study lounges are all about. Ideal for students with limited options as after-school study spaces, because home is a hassle, libraries are full, cafes rather costly, 24-hour eateries full of distracting chatter. Ideal, too, for younger professionals preparing for higher-level exams to further their career or increase their knowledge. And all relatively cheap.

The study lounge is an imported business model pioneered in South Korea and Japan.

The demand for study lounges rose in China because students can hardly find a tranquil place to study after finishing classes. It is hard for them to find a place in a university even if they manage to enter the campus. There are relatively few public libraries even in big cities. And even students on campus need a peaceful place to focus on studies.

Before 2018 there were few study lounges in China, and the few that existed were mainly in first- and second-tier cities such as Guangzhou, Suzhou and Tianjin. In Beijing the first study lounge opened in 2018. Yet by last year they had become popular nationwide.

The market organization iiMedia said that there were about 1,000 newly-opened study lounges nationwide last year and the number of paid users rose from 850,000 in 2018 to 2.3 million in 2019.

In iiMedia's earlier estimate, the number of paid users in study lounges was expected to rise to 7.8 million nationwide this year.

But the pandemic has dealt a crushing blow to the industry. Since personal contact in a closed environment is unavoidable, the pandemic forced all study lounges to shut down for several months.

Lou Qingxiao, founder of Xinliuzaowu, one of Beijing's earliest study lounge chains, which opened in 2018, said its study lounge near Renmin University of China had even made some profits before the pandemic. But their second franchised study lounge in Beijing opened just before the outbreak.

Li Hang and Zhang Yang, cofounders of Sishiloushi, an independent study lounge in Beijing, said their business is gradually returning to normal, but they still have to play things by ear. Even before COVID-19 broke out, the industry's profit model was neither promising nor clear.

"Rent is a major fixed cost for study lounges, especially in first-tier cities," Lou said. As such, charges for using study lounges need to be relatively high.

Li said in a first-tier city such as Beijing, rentals comprise more than a half of a study lounge's monthly operation cost.

According to Lou, the study lounge industry is a result of consumption upgrading that "provides better time and space experience, and helps users to enhance their knowledge and efficiency while saving time".

He sounds optimistic about the industry's commercial prospects, though, "because it's a blue ocean with less competition".

Li and Zhang do not consider study lounges to be simple substitutes for public libraries, as the former provide a better learning experience that people cannot get in free public libraries.

"Privately operated study lounges like ours actually make up for the shortage of public infrastructure and public services, and we are willing to cooperate with the government to better serve the public," Li said.

2.3 million
paid users used study lounges in China in 2019, up from 850,000 in 2018. About 1,000 new lounges were opened in 2019



A customer studies in a 24-hour study lounge in Wuxi, Jiangsu province.
PROVIDED TO CHINA DAILY

Additional information is on file with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

CHINA WATCH
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THEY KEEP THE TERRACOTTA WARRIORS ON THE MARCH

Restorers require an eye for detail and infinite patience

BY XIN WEN



Lan Desheng picked up a sand-colored pottery shard, surveyed the fragment and fitted it into the back of a Terracotta Warrior figure.

The 52-year-old conservator-restorer is part of a specialist team piecing together and repairing the Terracotta Army, which was discovered at the mausoleum of Emperor Qinshihuang in Xi'an, Shaanxi province, in March 1974.

Pointing to life-sized Terracotta Warriors wearing suits of armor and with their hair in buns, Lan said: "These are pieces of history that have been vividly preserved. More than 2,000 years have slipped by, and you can still sense the huge amount of talent that went into making these figures."

Lan said the team aims to restore the relics' original appearance by applying the principle of minimum intervention.





On-site first aid is a key element of the work. In the tomb pits where the relics were discovered, about 15 conservator-restorers toil day and night. Work tables are placed in the corners of the pits, on which gray-uniformed restorers arrange different sets of tools.

The layer of varnish on newly unearthed Terracotta Warriors in the funerary pits warps and shrinks within minutes of them being found, due to sudden changes in temperature and humidity. The colorful artwork on the figures also quickly peels off.

Wang Chunyan, a researcher at Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum, is responsible for on-site emergency protection of the cultural relics.

"The greatest effort we make to safeguard the Terracotta Warriors goes into protecting the varnish and colorful painting," Wang said.

Menthol is used for this work. After heating it to form an organic solvent, Wang said the conservator-restorers sprinkle fusant, a type of solution obtained during this process, on fabric, which is used to daub and reinforce the excavated figures. After the solution solidifies, the relics are taken to what is called a recovery room.

In 1974 the Terracotta Warriors were found by villagers in Lintong district of Xi'an.

The figures, commissioned by Emperor Qin, have undergone three archaeological excavations, the first spanning more than six years.

The second took place in 1985 but was halted because there were limited ways to protect the colorful painting on the figures at the time.

The most recent excavation started in 2009, when the National Cultural Heritage Administration approved the resumption of work in a section of the No. 1 pit.

Lan, the conservator-restorer, was one of those responsible for the resumption, which was a turning point in his career.

Earlier, he had only repaired one or two Terracotta Warriors every year, treating the relics with the utmost care and displaying infinite patience.

Since the excavation resumed, he has restored pottery shards from more than 150 figures and has gradually come to know the difference between each one.

"The Terracotta Warriors feature colorful painting and even the fingerprints of the artisans who made them," Lan said. "The artisans' names are etched on them, but they can be hard to find.

"If you look closely at the pottery shards you can see traces of their fingerprints and complete palm prints left after they vigorously slapped the clay. There are also traces of the hairs they shed."

All these traces are well-

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TOP LEFT
The Terracotta Army No. 1 pit at Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum in Xi'an, Shaanxi province.

RIGHT
The hands of a headless warrior have been restored.

BOTTOM LEFT
Lan Desheng (right) and his colleague Wang Dongfeng restore a Terracotta Warrior.

BOTTOM RIGHT
Ma Yu repairs a bronze swan unearthed in Xi'an.

PHOTOS BY ZHANG TIANZHU / FOR CHINA DAILY

preserved, he said.

Using his experience, Lan can tell whether the Terracotta Warriors were made by artisans from the Qin Court or by local artisans, as their work is quite different.

As a researcher with the Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum, Lan, who has worked there for more than 25 years, mostly lives a routine life. The museum is on the eastern outskirts of Xi'an, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) from the downtown area, and Lan lives on the southern side of the ancient city.

At 7 a.m. every workday he takes a shuttle bus from his home to the museum, leaving the No. 1 pit at about 5 p.m. for the return journey.

He was anxious when he first started work, even though it was his ideal job, he said.

In 1993 he graduated from Northwest University in Xi'an with a major in cultural heritage, and three years later started work on restoring Terracotta Warriors.

The conservator-restorers face a strict training program. In the first two years Lan was not allowed to touch the relics and was told to "observe, remember and read".

His first task after training ended was to locate fragments and search for missing parts of the figures among the piled shards.

Sometimes he was unable to find a single missing piece, and often asked his instructor when he could start to repair a complete Terracotta Warrior. He did not have to wait long.

Now, walking along the No. 2 pit, which contains figures of warriors and their horses, Lan proudly points to them and states, "I repaired two of these pieces."

The technology used to restore the figures has changed over the years, but the fundamental methods remain the same.

After fragments of the warriors and horses are collected, the restorers attempt to piece them together before using glue to bind them.

Over the decades the restorers have become accustomed to delays and the fact that hardly anything can be done immediately. Patience is essential.

Lan, who approaches his work with passion and excitement, set up a special operations table at the No. 1 pit. Sets of repair tools, including magnifying glasses, brushes and surgical knives, are placed on the table.

Lan also has traditional tools, which he uses frequently. About 10 years ago he asked a carpenter in a nearby village to make him a wooden stake.

Two sticks at the top of the stake can be removed, allowing restorers to put the upper part of a warrior's body on it. The lower part of the body is later rejoined with the upper.

"Some industrial design researchers offered me a new steel stake, but for now I prefer to use this one because it's simple and convenient," Lan said.

He often imagines himself as a doctor diagnosing diseases during the Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.).

"There are many different types of doctors in the world, but few could have diagnosed and treated those Qin warriors who lived more than 2,000 years ago."

Over the years the Terracotta Warrior pits have experienced fires, collapses and flooding. Sometimes, the conservator-restorers have been unable to restore the warriors' original appearance.

In the No. 1 pit work area are many half-completed figures, some with missing arms and others with smashed legs bound with rope.

"We sometimes have to stop halfway through the restoration work and wait for up to two, three or four years to find the remaining parts. However, there is always the possibility that they won't be located."

> "THESE ARE PIECES OF HISTORY THAT HAVE BEEN VIVIDLY PRESERVED. MORE THAN 2,000 YEARS HAVE SLIPPED BY, AND YOU CAN STILL SENSE THE HUGE AMOUNT OF TALENT THAT WENT INTO MAKING THESE FIGURES."
>
> **LAN DESHENG,**
> CONSERVATOR-RESTORER

Ma Yu, 48, a conservator-restorer who has worked in this field for 28 years, is a pioneer in restoring different types of terracotta figures during each excavation.

He gained expertise working near the Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum.

He uses modern equipment, including an ultra-depth-of-field microscope, to minutely examine each piece of pottery in the studio. He also documents the terracotta figures being assembled, recording their size, weight, preservation status, surface painting, patterns and excavation location carefully on spreadsheets.

New discoveries always give Ma a buzz. During restoration work he came across high-resolution and complete fingerprints that could provide vital clues to the figures' age, gender and athletic prowess.

"My aim is to do everything conscientiously. It's vital to restore the relics."

Jian Min contributed to this story.

Additional information is on file with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

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TimeOff

HOLLYWOOD HISTORY
David Fincher's new film *Mank* tells the origin story of *Citizen Kane*



INSIDE

A NEW KIND OF FINANCIAL DRAMA COMES TO HBO

ARIANA GRANDE REVITALIZES THE POP ALBUM

PHOTOGRAPH BY GISELE SCHMIDT

Time Off is reported by Mariah Espada, Madeline Roache and Simmone Shah

MOVIES

The man who wrote *Citizen Kane*, laid bare

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE LEGEND OF ORSON WELLES IS A FOLK SONG with many stanzas and no end. He was a genius and a tyrant, a young rogue who either maximized or squandered his talent, depending on whom you talk to, an imperious figure who, in his last years, gained too much weight and had to peddle wine on TV commercials to make some dough. Welles and the movie that made him, 1941's *Citizen Kane,* are the stuff of lore. But *Kane* wouldn't be *Kane* without Herman J. Mankiewicz, the man who co-wrote—or possibly even just wrote—its script, almost without getting credit. A great wit, raconteur, heavy drinker and gambler, Mankiewicz deserves his own wry, sardonic ballad, served up with a double shot. If only more people actually remembered, or cared, who he was.

David Fincher cares. With his new feature *Mank,* he's made a movie that revels in an era when journalists, novelists and playwrights flocked to Hollywood to make big money, sometimes screwing up their lives even in the face of their great good fortune. *Mank* is a clever and entertaining feat of old-Hollywood hagiography, rendered in pearlescent black and white that mimics the look of films from Mankiewicz's own lost era. It's a detail that's especially poignant since most people will end up watching *Mank* on comparatively small screens, at home. (It was produced by Netflix.)

But the story Fincher tells here—in a picture that revels in both beauty and ruin more than any other he's made, from *Se7en* to *The Social Network*—is intimate enough to resonate even on that smaller canvas. It's about carving out a grand piece of work that nearly kills you, about betraying people you care about for the sake of art, about the degree to which the people holding the purse strings also hold the power. And it is, above all, a movie made with love, and not just for the long-vanished early days of a flickering art form: the screenplay was written by Jack Fincher, a journalist and the director's father, who died in 2003. Fincher has been wanting to make this movie for years, and although it's based on real events, there's an aura of ghostly dreaminess about it too. It's as if Fincher were trying not to re-create the past but to communicate with it.

Gary Oldman—pale, puffy and whiskery—plays Mank, a longtime studio screenwriter and producer and former theater critic who's fallen on hard times. As the movie opens, he's suffered a car accident that puts him in a cast, rendering him nearly immobile. He can still write, though, and luckily, he's been hired by Welles (played by English actor Tom Burke, and seen only briefly) to come up with a screenplay. RKO Pictures has given the brash young director carte blanche to make any movie he wants, with any collaborator, and Mank is his guy. Welles arranges for the sozzled genius to be wheeled off to a remote ranch in Victorville, Calif., not just to allow him to recover from his smashup, but also to keep him off the sauce—for a little while, at least.



Gary Oldman, Sean Persaud and a crew member make old-school movie magic on the set of Mank

With the exception of booze, Mank has everything he needs to get to work. Welles has set him up with a pretty English secretary adept at dictation (she's played by Lily Collins, who bears a shimmering resemblance to 1940s star Jennifer Jones), and has installed a persnickety babysitter in the form of John Houseman, Welles' loyal theater compatriot and a producer on the then nascent film (played by Sam Troughton). And so Mank starts writing a dense and complex story that's something like *Mank* itself, an odyssey that weaves from the present to the recent and not-so-recent past, in a decidedly nonlinear fashion.

Fincher touches on Mankiewicz's tenure as an unruly but brilliant writer at Paramount, and traces his encounters with figures like bullish studio boss Louis B. Mayer and his more principled right-hand man Irving Thalberg (Arliss Howard and Ferdinand Kingsley). Most

PREVIOUS PAGE: NETFLIX; THESE PAGES: GISELE SCHMIDT—NETFLIX



significantly, he mines the time Mankiewicz spent earlier in the 1930s socializing with newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst (a snootily regal Charles Dance) and his mistress, actor Marion Davies (Amanda Seyfried), at the Hearst Castle in San Simeon. Hearst would become, of course, the inspiration for Charles Foster Kane, and *Mank* outlines the complex and limited minuet of their friendship. Writers often mine real life for material, which means betrayal—though, as *Mank* suggests, it's sometimes hard to know who betrayed whom first.

BUT *MANK* IS ALSO a picture about how liberal ideals found a fertile home in early Hollywood, often in spite of the machinations of money-grubbing opportunists like Mayer. The Hollywood of the 1930s, in particular, had a dazzling brain trust from which to draw. In her classic essay "Raising Kane," Pauline Kael wrote of Mankiewicz and colleagues like Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, the writers of the play *The Front Page,* which became the basis for *His Girl Friday:* "They had gone to Hollywood as a paid vacation from their playwriting or journalism, and screenwriting became their only writing. The vacation became an extended drunken party, and while they were there in the debris of the long morning after, American letters passed them by. They were never to catch up; nor were American movies ever again to have in their midst a whole school of the richest talents of a generation."

Fincher captures the aura around those words, showing us champagne-fueled parties at San Simeon, where, when the conversation turns to world affairs, Mank and Davies are the only ones clear on the potential danger of the Hitler regime. Intelligence meant something in old Hollywood; it was almost as precious a resource as glamour. Fincher also captures the warm, platonic camaraderie between writer Mank and star Davies, a gifted performer whose career was more hindered than helped by her rich, famous paramour. (Seyfried is marvelous here—there's always just a hint of sadness behind her resplendent smile, as if she knows exactly what Davies' life choices cost her.) At one point, Mank and Davies sneak away from one of those aforementioned parties to talk in the castle garden, a rich man's zoo populated by monkeys and pachyderms. As they chat and laugh in the moonlight—and even as their talk turns to more serious things—the silhouettes of elephants loom behind them like silent chaperones, keeping an eye out for any funny business, though there isn't any.

Intelligence meant something in old Hollywood; it was almost as precious a resource as glamour

Mank is an ambitious picture constructed from multiple shifting parts. One subplot involving novelist and liberal activist Upton Sinclair's failed bid for governor of California in 1934—which may have been thwarted, at least in part, by a reel of fake news put out by Mayer—becomes a kind of somber watercolor wash over the whole movie, and an echo of our own time. Mank had everything invested in being the cleverest person on the page and in the room—he was, whether credited or not, the nimble mastermind behind early Paramount delights like the Marx Brothers' *Duck Soup* and the Jean Harlow stunner *Dinner at Eight* by MGM—but he learns the hard way that words have power far beyond their entertainment value. And it's at least a minor stroke of genius that Fincher cast Bill Nye—better known as Bill Nye the Science Guy—as Sinclair. He's visible only from afar, in a brief scene, but his mere presence is a nod to the supremacy of facts over dangerous fictions.

FOR ALL ITS INTELLIGENCE, *Mank* isn't anything close to a masterpiece. It's more a pleasurable high-wire act, a movie made with care and cunning and peopled by actors who know exactly what they're doing. Oldman makes a terrific Mankiewicz, sizing up the world around him as if it were all a comic mirage and he were the only real thing in it. (He was devoted, too, to his wife, Sara—played here by Tuppence Middleton—who deftly handled many thankless tasks, not least among them undressing the drunken Mank for bed.) But Mank's moments of reckoning are searing: even if he's one of those truly tragic alcoholics who are more productive and sharper when inebriated, he also knows what his behavior costs him in dignity. And when he finally finishes that script—the title typed across the front is simply *American*—we see in his eyes what parts of his soul he had to sell for it. Mankiewicz almost didn't get credit for writing *Citizen Kane*. In the end, he shared that credit—and the Oscar—with Welles.

Of the two men, Welles is the one we're still talking about, and with good reason. His gifts were formidable, not just as a director but also as an actor, a writer and an all-around elegant rascal. But as one of Hollywood's great wags, Mankiewicz deserves an anthem of his own, and if *Mank* is the only one he ever gets, it's not too shabby. The history of movies, like history overall, so often works its way out from the edges. We can learn a lot from going back to read what was written in the margins, and to marvel at the person who put it there.

MANK *will be released in select theaters on Nov. 13 before streaming on Netflix Dec. 4*



To succeed, Harper (Herrold) must impress her mentor, Eric (Leung)

TELEVISION

A *Working Girl* for the age of 'woke capitalism'

By Judy Berman

THE FINANCE GUY HAS BEEN A STOCK CHARACTER EVER since Gordon Gekko slithered onto the screen in 1987's *Wall Street,* preaching the gospel of greed. We've seen nominally diversified variations on the theme, from *Working Girl* to Showtime's *Black Monday.* Yet the genre has barely evolved since the '80s, despite significant shifts in public opinion on banking.

Which is why it's been surprising to see HBO's *Industry* attract so little attention. The smart, thoroughly contemporary drama follows postcollegiate recruits at fictional London firm Pierpoint & Co. In an atmosphere thick with performative confidence, where a tiny mistake could end a career before it's begun, new hires must prove their mettle while accounting for how their race, class, gender and sexuality might affect their prospects in a field that isn't known for its tolerance.

Instead of giving us *Wall Street* with smartphones, the show's young cast reflects a financial-services industry that is at least trying to appear inclusive. Thatcher worshipper Gus (David Jonsson) attended Eton and Oxford; he's also Black. Yasmin (Marisa Abela) is a rich girl who struggles to assert herself. Hari (Nabhaan Rizwan) is the workaholic of the bunch, while Robert (Harry Lawtey) is the working-class striver who bought the wrong kind of suit.

The show's most mysterious figure is its protagonist Harper, a mixed-race American played with insight and low-key intensity by relative newcomer Myha'la Herrold. In a job-interview montage that introduces each character, state-school grad Harper proclaims: "I think mediocrity is too well hidden by parents who hire private tutors." Her bold statement pays off; not only is she hired, but she finds a mentor in her interviewer, Eric (the always excellent Ken Leung), another outsider who's proven to be a sales superstar.

A SIMPLER DRAMA would make Harper an easy-to-love underdog. Instead, creators Mickey Down and Konrad Kay do her justice by writing a layered character who wavers between hero and antihero. We're led to believe that—like Tess McGill in *Working Girl* and *The Wolf of Wall Street* author Jordan Belfort—she's a bit of an imposter. How far she'll go to stay is an open question.

There's a soapy element to *Industry:* love triangles, closet cases, BDSM. The sheer number of explosive secrets among the graduates strains plausibility. Thankfully, a spare visual style cuts the silliness. Down and Kay add to the verisimilitude with dialogue that feels both cerebral and, most of the time, realistic for such an overeducated crowd.

Most perceptive is how the show depicts the social dynamic within this very specific milieu. The 20-somethings of Pierpoint know how to be politically correct. Yet the most privileged among them delight in offending liberal sensibilities, and others realize it behooves them to be seen as good sports. A coked-up white guy rants about "woke capitalism," in which "I *pretend* to care about Black people" and "you *pretend* to hate capitalism." Harper proves she can hang by teasing him: "Do you prerehearse those little nuggets?"

In fact, Harper openly reveres capitalism—and that says more about her than it might have during the Reagan years. Their many differences aside, this is what she shares with her colleagues: they're misfits within a generation more critical of capitalism than its predecessors. In some of its best moments, the show demonstrates that they know it. Within that social context, *Industry* is itself a risky wager: Is there even a market for characters like these? I'm feeling surprisingly bullish.

'We picked something that is rather the opposite of cinematic in many ways.'

KONRAD KAY, *Industry* co-creator, on bringing the world of finance to the screen

INDUSTRY *airs Mondays on HBO*

AMANDA SEARLE—HBO

MUSIC

Ariana Grande gets in her feelings on *Positions*

By Maura Johnston

EVEN BY THE DIZZYING STANDARDS OF THE LATE 2010s and early 2020s, Ariana Grande has experienced a lot of low and high points over the past few years: the death of her onetime boyfriend Mac Miller, public scrutiny of her relationships, sold-out tours and tweetstorms with her legions of fans. She's also kept busy in the studio, releasing albums, as well as the occasional one-off single, that provide immediate snapshots of who she is right now.

In the middle of October, Grande announced on social media that she'd soon be following up 2018's lightly funky *Sweetener* and 2019's bedheaded *Thank U, Next* with another album, her sixth overall. *Positions,* which Grande recorded during lockdown, came out on Oct. 30, and the album winds up being an ideal counterweight to the madness of the moment. Its forthright attitude, effervescent energy and indelible hooks offer a saucy, danceable respite from the shouting hordes.

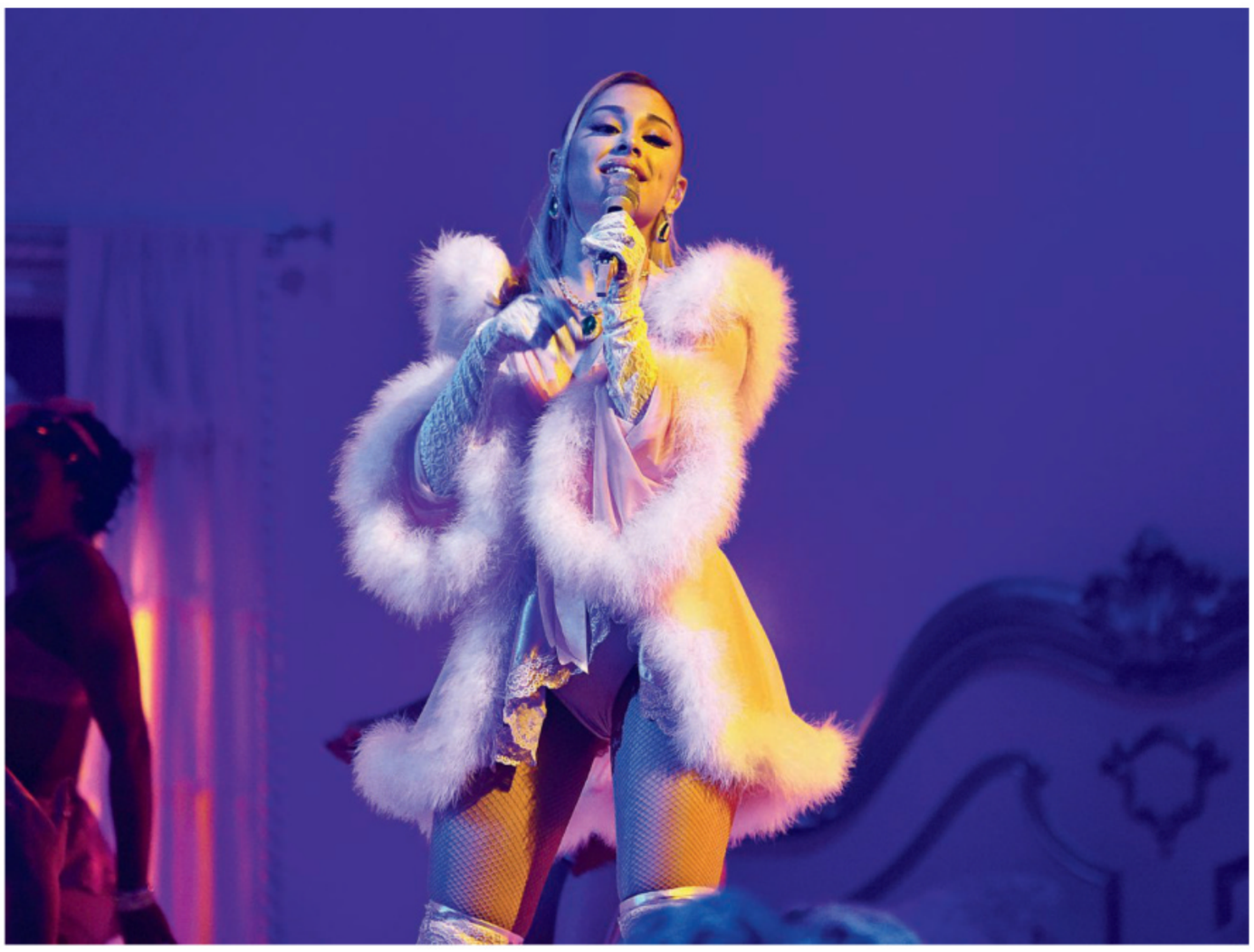
Maybe Grande foresaw all that yelling: beginning an album with a song called "Shut Up" sends a message. It's a playful celebration of ignoring any gossip, with Grande's cottony voice accompanied by urgent strings. On the chorus—an ideal snippet for accompanying TikTok videos—she stretches the two-syllable title up and down the scale as strings swoon behind her. It's a teasing swat, one that shows off Grande's sense of humor as well as her lithe soprano.

Grande is one of pop's biggest names—her collaborations with Justin Bieber and Lady Gaga have already netted her two chart-topping singles this year—and *Positions* is, accordingly, an event album, complete with October-surprise release strategy and cameo appearances from fellow No. 1 hitmakers the Weeknd and Doja Cat. But like *Thank U, Next* before it, the album's strength comes from its intimate vibe and idiosyncratic worldview, with Grande's voice turning bedroom calisthenics (gleefully detailed on the giggly "34+35" and the sultry "Nasty") as well as the more mundane aspects of romance ("Whatcha gonna do when I'm bored/And I wanna play video games at 2 a.m.?" she muses on "Six Thirty") into bubbly pop fodder.

'It felt nice to be creating from a more healed place … I'm happy to not be in that kind of pain anymore.'

ARIANA GRANDE, on the *Zach Sang Show,* about what makes this album different

GRANDE'S MOST POTENT WEAPON as a pop star is her ability to make the personal universal. Her honesty about her struggles is rocket-fueled by her innate knowledge of what makes a hook undeniable, and those two qualities are all over *Positions.* The haunting "Off the Table," a duet with Abel Tesfaye of miserabilist-R&B project the Weeknd, tackles the idea of loving after loss head-on and with grace. Tesfaye's smooth voice soothes Grande's anxieties about moving on. The string-laden "POV" and roller-rink-ready "Love Language" are similarly resonant, with Grande's vocal performance echoing the soul-opening experiences described in her lyrics. "Motive," the duet with pop-rapper Doja Cat, rides a thumping groove as Grande picks apart a suitor's reasons for being.



Taken as a whole, *Positions* feels like the culmination of Grande's nearly 10 years as a recording artist, nodding to elements from her past while presenting an impishly optimistic view of what's to come. Touches of classic R&B flit in and out, reminiscent of the soul-inspired pop on her 2013 debut *Yours Truly;* the minimally fuzzy production of tracks like "Six Thirty" and "Obvious" bring to mind the homespun vibes of Grande's *Thank U, Next* era. That all contributes to why it's a smoothly confident album. Even when Grande is singing about self-doubt and uncertainty, she's fully in her feelings, knowing that pop can bring a release. ☐

JOHN SHEARER—GETTY IMAGES

Grande's last album, 2019's Thank U, Next, *earned the singer two Grammy nominations*



9 Questions

Steve Kornacki, MSNBC's election guru on polling whiffs, nonstop coverage and becoming a heartthrob

How did you prepare to talk about the election live on air with such granularity? I likened it in the final month or so before the election to cramming for a final back in college and committing as much to muscle memory as I could: Census data, voting history, demographic trends. Which [counties] are becoming more racially, ethnically diverse? What counties have the greater share of the sort of blue collar white population where Trump is expected to do well?

You sometimes whipped out a calculator to establish why states were too close to call. Why not have someone backstage crunch the numbers? The folks doing our system would get it at the same time, but they would have to enter it in, and it would take a minute to refresh. So there was a bit of a lag there. I think it worked. But it was also probably for the best. Hopefully, the viewers get a sense of what this math is and how to think about the returns that they're seeing come in and why I say I'm seeing this pattern toward Biden.

Viewers started musing about your posterior looking good in khaki pants and calling you Map Daddy. Did you know you were becoming a heartthrob at the time? That's a very loose use of the term *heartthrob*. It took a couple days to realize that stuff like that was happening. I didn't recognize anything about it election night or probably the day after. But I started getting family and friends sending me things. There are worse fates in life.

How did you survive the grueling hours? We had a little setup right behind the board. I would go back there and take a seat, and it would hit me—I would feel it, especially when we were in these 45-minute waits for new votes. I could feel dead tired, barely holding my eyes open, and then the minute the new vote came in, there was a bit of a rush in something new, and in "Let's see how it changes the board."

"I REALLY WAS LOOKING AT IT SAYING, "I THINK TRUMP MIGHT SQUEAK HIS WAY THROUGH HERE AGAIN"



Do you think we need to overhaul polling? Yes, but I don't know how. And I don't know that anybody does know how. You could stitch together a pretty simple scenario, with a swing of maybe 40,000 votes in a couple states that would get Trump into a 269-269 tie in the Electoral College.

Based on your knowledge of how large the margins were, do you think any instances of voter fraud would be enough to tip any states? Look, the burden is on anybody who wants to make a claim like that to present the proof. When you look at where the margins are in the [key] states—it's about 45,000 votes right now statewide in Pennsylvania; it's a little over 20,000 in Wisconsin; in Georgia, it's about 12,000—no one's put forward proof of anything remotely on that scale.

Were you ready for it to take this long to know who won? Did you pack extra clothes? I got a couple of ties here. I had a few pairs of clothes, but let's put it this way: I saved some money on laundry.

Do you have advice for people who don't believe we have a victor yet? This was close. This was closer than the polls indicated. There was a moment on election night when I really was looking at it saying, "I think Trump might squeak his way through here again, in the Electoral College." But there were just enough shifts in just enough states there for Joe Biden, where he's over 270. And the question now is not if he's going to be the next President—the question is how many electoral votes exactly does he land on? We know it'll be at least 279. Will it go higher?

—ABBY VESOULIS

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